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HUDIBRAS,

BY

SAMUEL BUTLER;

WITH NOTES BY

THE REV. TREADWAY RUSSEL NASH, D.D.

A NEW EDITION ILLUSTRATED.

VOLUME II.



LONDON:

HENRY WASHBOURNE, NEW BRIDGE STREET,
BLACKFRIARS.

MDCCCXLVII.

HUDIBRAS.

PART II. CANTO III.

✧

ARGUMENT.

The Knight, with various doubts possest,
To win the Lady goes in quest
Of Sidrophel the Rosy-crucian,
To know the dest'nies' resolution :
With whom being met, they both chop logic
About the science astrologic :
'Till falling from dispute to fight,
The Conjurer's worsted by the Knight.



CANTO III.¹

DOUBTLESS the pleasure is as great
 Of being cheated, as to cheat ; ²
 As lookers-on feel most delight,
 That least perceive a juggler's flight,
 And still the less they understand,
 The more th' admire his slight of hand.

5

¹ As the subject of this canto is the dispute between Hudibras and an astrologer, it is prefaced by some reflections on the credulity of men. This exposes them to the artifices of cheats and impostors, not only when disguised under the characters of lawyers, physicians, and divines, but even in the questionable garb of wizards and fortune-tellers.

² Swift, in the Tale of a Tub, (digression on madness) places happiness in the condition of being well deceived, and pursues the thought through several pages. Aristippus being desired to resolve a riddle, replied, that it would be absurd to resolve that which unresolved afforded so much pleasure :

— cui sic extorta voluptas,
 Et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.
 Hor. lib. ii. epist. ii. 140.

Some with a noise, and greasy light,
 Are snapt, as men catch larks by night,¹
 Ensnar'd and hamper'd by the soul,
 As nooses by the legs catch fowl.² 10
 Some, with a med'cine, and receipt,
 Are drawn to nibble at the bait;³
 And tho' it be a two-foot trout,
 'Tis with a single hair pull'd out.⁴

Others believe no voice t' an organ 15
 So sweet as lawyer's in his bar-gown,⁵
 Until, with subtle cobweb-cheats,
 They 're catch'd in knotted law, like nets;
 In which, when once they are imbrangled,
 The more they stir, the more they 're tangled; 20
 And while their purses can dispute,
 There's no end of th' immortal suit.

Others still gape t' anticipate
 The cabinet designs of fate,⁶

¹ This alludes to the morning and evening lectures, which, in those times of pretended reformation and godliness, were delivered by candle-light, in many churches, for a great part of the year. To maintain, and frequent these, was deemed the greatest evidence of religion and sanctity. The gifted preachers were very loud. The simile, is taken from the method of catching larks at night, in some countries, by means of a low-bell and a light.

² Woodcocks, and some other birds, are caught in springes.

³ Are cheated of their money by quacks and mountebanks, who boast of nostrums, and infallible recipes. Even persons who ought to have more discernment are sometimes taken in by these cozeners. In later times, the admirers of animal magnetism would perhaps have ranked with this order of wisecracks, and been proper objects of Mr. Butler's satire.

⁴ That is, though it be a sensible man, and one as unlikely to be caught by a medicine and a receipt, as a trout two feet long to be pulled out by a single hair.

⁵ In the hope of promised success many are led into broils and suits, from which they are not able to extricate themselves till they are quite ruined. See Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxx. cap. 4. where the evil practises of the lawyers under Valens and Valentinian, are strongly and inimitably painted: happy would it be for the world, if the picture had not its likeness in modern times, but was confined to the decline of the Roman empire.

⁶ A natural desire; but if too much indulged, a notable instance of human weakness.

Apply to wizards, to foresee 25
 What shall, and what shall never be; ¹
 And as those vultures do forbode, ²
 Believe events prove bad or good.
 A flam more senseless than the roguery
 Of old aruspicy and aug'ry, ³ 30
 That out of garbages of cattle
 Presag'd th' events of truce or battle;
 From flight of birds, or chickens pecking,
 Success of great'st attempts would reckon:
 Tho' cheats, yet more intelligible 35
 Than those that with the stars do fribble.
 This Hudibras by proof found true,
 As in due time and place we'll shew:
 For he, with beard and face made clean,
 Being mounted on his steed again, 40
 And Ralpho got a cock-horse too,
 Upon his beast, with much ado,
 Advanc'd on for the widow's house,
 T' acquit himself, and pay his vows;
 When various thoughts began to bustle, 45
 And with his inward man to justle.
 He thought what danger might accrue,
 If she should find he swore untrue;

¹ O Læertiade, quicquid dicam aut erit, aut non.
 Divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.

Horat. Sat. lib. ii. Sat. v. v. 59.

² Vultures, birds of prey, are here put figuratively for astrologers: or the word may be used equivocally, as soothsayers took their omens from eagles, vultures, ravens, and such birds.

³ Aruspicy was a kind of divination by sacrifice; by the behaviour of the beast before it was slain; by entrails after it was open; or by the flames while it was burning. Augury was a divination from appearances in the heavens, from thunder, lightning, &c. but more commonly from birds, their flight, chattering, manner of feeding, &c. Thus Ovid:

Hæc mihi non ovium fibræ, tonitrusve sinistri,
 Linguæ servatæ, pennæ, dixit avis.

Ovid. Trist. lib. i. eleg. viii. 49.

Mirari se ajebat M. Cato, quod non rideret haruspex, haruspicem cum vidisset. Tullius de Divinat. ii. 24. et de Natura Deorum, i. 26.

Or if his squire or he should fail,
 And not be punctual in their tale, 50
 It might at once the ruin prove
 Both of his honour, faith, and love :
 But if he should forbear to go,
 She might conclude he 'ad broke his vow ;
 And that he durst not now, for shame, 55
 Appear in court to try his claim.
 This was the penn'worth of his thought,
 To pass time, and uneasy trot.

Quoth he, In all my past adventures
 I ne'er was set so on the tenters, 60
 Or taken tardy with dilemma,
 That, ev'ry way I turn, does hem me,
 And with inextricable doubt,
 Besets my puzzled wits about :
 For though the dame has been my bail, 65
 To free me from enchanted jail,
 Yet, as a dog committed close
 For some offence, by chance breaks loose,
 And quits his clog ; but all in vain,
 He still draws after him his chain : ¹ 70
 So tho' my ancle she has quitted,
 My heart continues still committed ;
 And like a bail'd and mainpriz'd lover, ²
 Altho' at large, I am bound over :

¹ Persius applies this simile to the case of a person who is well inclined, but cannot resolve to be uniformly virtuous.

Nec tu, cum obstiteris semel, instantique negaris
 Parere imperio, rupi jam vincula, dicas :
 Nam et luctata canis nodum arripit ; attamen illi,
 Cum fugit, a collo trahitur pars longa catenæ.

Sat. V. v. 157.

Yet triumph not ; say not, my bands are broke,
 And I no more go subject to the yoke ;
 Alas ! the struggling dog breaks loose in vain,
 Whose neck still drags along a trailing length of chain.

Brewster.

Petrarch has applied this simile to love, as well as our author.

² Mainprized signifies one delivered by the judge into the custody

And when I shall appear in court 75
 To plead my cause, and answer for't,
 Unless the judge do partial prove,
 What will become of me and love ?
 For if in our accounts we vary,
 Or but in circumstance miscarry : 80
 Or if she put me to strict proof,
 And make me pull my doublet off,
 To shew, by evident record,
 Writ on my skin, I've kept my word,
 How can I e'er expect to have her, 85
 Having demurr'd unto her favour ?
 But faith, and love, and honour lost,
 Shall be reduc'd t' a knight o' th' post : ¹
 Beside, that stripping may prevent
 What I'm to prove by argument, 90
 And justify I have a tail,
 And that way, too, my proof may fail.
 Oh ! that I could enucleate, ²
 And solve the problems of my fate ;
 Or find, by necromantic art, ³ 95
 How far the dest'nies take my part ;
 For if I were not more than certain
 To win and wear her, and her fortune,
 I'd go no farther in this courtship,
 To hazard soul, estate and worship : 100

of such as shall undertake to see him forthcoming at the day appointed.

¹ This is, one who in court, or before a magistrate, will swear as he hath been previously directed. I have somewhere read that such persons formerly plied about the portico in the Temple, and from thence were called knights of the *post* : and knights, perhaps, from the knights templars being buried in the adjoining church. [A hireling evidence : a knight dubbed at the whipping post, or pillory. Johnson's Dictionary by Todd.]

² Explain, or open ; an expression taken from the cracking of a nut.

³ Necromancy, or the black art, as it is vulgarly called, is the faculty of revealing future events, from consultation with demons, or with departed spirits. It is called the black art, because the ignorant writers of the middle age, mistaking the etymology, write it *nigromantia* : or because the devil was painted black.

For tho' an oath obliges not,
 Where any thing is to be got,¹
 As thou hast prov'd, yet 'tis profane,
 And sinful, when men swear in vain.

Quoth Ralph, Not far from hence doth dwell 105
 A cunning man, hight Sidrophel,²
 That deals in destiny's dark counsels,
 And sage opinions of the moon sells,³
 To whom all people far and near,
 On deep importances repair : 110
 When brass and pewter hap to stray,
 And linen slinks out of the way ;
 When geese and pullen are seduc'd,⁴
 And sows of sucking pigs are chows'd ;
 When cattle feel indisposition, 115
 And need the opinion of physician ;
 When murrain reigns in hogs or sheep,
 And chickens languish of the pip ;
 When yeast and outward means do fail,
 And have no pow'r to work on ale ; 120

¹ The notions of the dissenters with regard to this, and other points of a like nature, are stated more at large in some preceding cantos.

² Some have thought that the character of Sidrophel was intended for sir Paul Neal ; but the author, probably, here meant it for Wiliam Lilly, the famous astrologer and almanack maker, who at times sided with the parliament. He was consulted by the royalists, with the king's privy, whether the king should escape from Hampton-court, whether he should sign the propositions of the parliament, &c. and had twenty pounds for his opinion. See the life of A. Wood, Oxford, 1772, p. 101, 102, and his own life, in which are many curious particulars. Till the king's affairs declined he was a cavalier, but after the year 1645 he engaged body and soul in the cause of the parliament : he was one of the close committee to consult about the king's execution. At the latter end of his life he resided at Hersham, in the parish of Walton upon-Thames, practised physick, and went often to Kingston to attend his patients. But probably the most profitable trade of Doe, Kelly, Lilly, and others of that class, was that of spies, which they were for any country or party that employed them. *Hight*, that is called, from the A. S. *hatan*, to call.

³ i. e. the omens which he collects from the appearance of the moon.

⁴ Pullen, that is, poultry.



R. Cooper sculp.

MOPAXIN, the WITCH FINDER.

from a woodcut

When butter does refuse to come,¹
 And love proves cross and humoursome ;
 To him with questions, and with urine,
 They for discov'ry flock, or curing.

Quoth Hudibras, This Sidrophel 125
 I've heard of, and shou'd like it well,
 If thou canst prove the saints have freedom
 To go to sorc'ers when they need 'em.²

Says Ralpho, There's no doubt of that ;
 Those principles I've quoted late, 130
 Prove that the godly may allege
 For any thing their privilege,
 And to the devil himself may go,
 If they have motives thereunto :
 For as there is a war between 135
 The dev'l and them, it is no sin
 If they, by subtle stratagem,³
 Make use of him, as he does them.
 Has not this present parl'ament
 A ledger to the devil sent,⁴ 140
 Fully empower'd to treat about
 Finding revolted witches out ?⁵
 And has not he, within a year,
 Hang'd threescore of 'em in one shire ?⁶

¹ When a country wench, says Mr. Selden in his Table Talk, cannot get her butter to come, she says the witch is in the churn.

² It was a question much agitated about the year 1570, *Utrum liceat homini christiano sortiariorum operâ et auxilio uti.*

³ *Dolus an Virtus, quis in hoste requirat ?*

⁴ That is, an ambassador. The person meant was Hopkins, the noted witch-finder for the associated counties.

⁵ That is, revolted from the parliament.

⁶ It is incredible what a number of poor, sick, and decrepit wretches were put to death, under the pretence of their being witches. Hopkins occasioned threescore to be hung in one year, in the county of Suffolk. See Dr. Hutchinson, p. 59. Dr. Grey says, he has seen an account of between three and four thousand that suffered, in the king's dominions, from the year 1640 to the king's restoration. "In December 1649," says Whitelock, "many witches were apprehended. The witch-trier "taking a pin, and thrusting it into the skin in many parts of their bo-

Some only for not being drown'd, 145
 And some for sitting above ground,
 Whole days and nights upon their breeches,
 Not feeling pain, where hang'd for witches;
 And some for putting knavish tricks
 Upon green geese and turkey-chicks, 150
 Or pigs, that suddenly deceast,
 Of griefs unnat'ral, as he guest;
 Who after prov'd himself a witch,
 And made a rod for his own breech.¹
 Did not the dev'l appear to Martin 155
 Luther in Germany for certain?²
 And wou'd have gull'd him with a trick,
 But Mart was too, too politick.
 Did he not help the Dutch to purge,
 At Antwerp, their cathedral church?³ 160
 Sing catches to the saints at Mascon,⁴
 And tell them all they came to ask him?

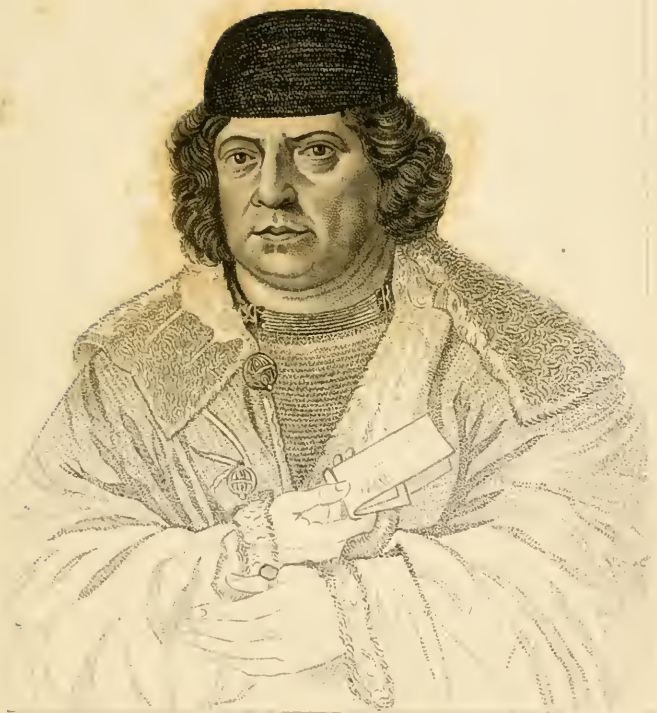
"dies; if they were insensible of it, it was a circumstance of proof
 "against them. October 1652, sixty were accused: much malice,
 "little proof: though they were tortured many ways to make them
 "confess."

¹ Dr. Hutchinson, in his *Historical Essay on Witchcraft*, page 66
 tells us, "that the country, tired of the cruelties committed by Hop-
 "kins, tried him by his own system. They tied his thumbs and toes,
 "as he used to do others, and threw him into the water; when he
 "swam like the rest."

² Luther, in his book *de Missâ privatâ*, says he was persuaded to
 preach against the mass by reasons suggested to him by the devil, in a
 disputation. Melchior Adamus says the devil appeared to Luther in
 his own garden, in the shape of a black boar. And the *Colloquia men-
 salia* relate, that when Luther was in his chamber, in the castle at
 Wurtsburgh, the devil cracked some nuts which he had in a box upon
 the bed-post, tumbled empty barrels down stairs, &c.

³ In the beginning of the civil war in Flanders, the common people
 at Antwerp broke open the cathedral church, and destroyed the
 ornaments. Strada, in his book *de Bello Belgico*, says, that "several
 "devils were seen to assist them; without whose aid it would have
 "been impossible, in so short a time, to have done so much mis-
 "chief."

⁴ Mascon is a town in Burgundy, where an unclean devil, as he was
 called, played his pranks in the house of Mr. Perreand, a reformed
 minister, ann. 1612. Sometimes he sang psalms; at others bawdy



R. Cooper sculp^t

MARTIN LUTHER.

From a Picture by Holbein.

Appear in divers shapes to Kelly, ¹
 And speak i' th' nun of Loudon's belly ? ²
 Meet with the parl'ament's committee, 165
 At Woodstock, on a pers'nal treaty ? ³

verses. Mr. Perreand published a circumstantial account of him in French, which, at the request of Mr. Boyle, who had heard the matter attested by Perreand himself, was translated into English by Dr. Peter de Moulin. The poet calls them saints, because they were of the Geneva persuasion.

¹ See notes to lines 236-7-8. It may be proper to observe, that the persons here instanced had made more than ordinary pretensions to sanctity, or bore some near relation to religion. On this circumstance Ralpho founds his argument for the lawfulness of the practice, that saints may converse with the devil. Dr. Casaubon informs us that Dee, who was associated with Kelly, employed himself in prayer and other acts of devotion, before he entered upon his conversation with spirits. "*Oratione dominicâ finitâ, et morâ aliquâ interpositâ, et aliquot ex psalterio precibus recitatâ.*"

² Sir Kenelm Digby, in his Treatise on the Sympathetic Powder, says "I could make a notable recital of such passions that happened to the nuns at Loudon; but having done it in a particular discourse, at my return from that country, in which I, as exactly as I could, dis-cussed the point, I will forbear speaking thereof at this time." Grandier, the curate of Loudon, was ordered to be burned alive, A. D. 1634, by a set of Judges commissioned and influenced by Richelieu; and the prioress, with half the nuns in the convent, were obliged to own themselves bewitched. The prioress declared, that when the devil who had possessed her had quitted her body, an angel impressed upon her hand the words *Jesus Maria Joseph F de Salis*. Mr. Moconnois made her a long visit, and she shewed him the letters. He scratched off a part of them, and supposed them to have been made with blood and starch. Grandier was a handsome man, and very eloquent. Such magic had fascinated the prioress, and subjected the nuns to their violent ardours. See Bayle's Dictionary, Art. Grandier; and Dr. Hutchinson's Historical Essay on Witchcraft, p. 36.

³ Dr. Plot, in his History of Oxfordshire, ch. viii. tells us how the devil, or some evil spirit, disturbed the commissioners at Woodstock, whither they went to value the crown lands, October 1649.* A personal treaty was very much desired by the King, and often pressed and petitioned for by great part of the nation. The poet insinuates that though the parliament refused to hold a personal treaty with the king, yet they scrupled not to hold one with the devil at Woodstock. [Readers of all ages and classes of the present day are familiar with the devil's pranks at Woodstock, through the agency of that great and fascinating magician Walter Scott, who, following the mighty Shakspeare, makes, poetry and romance the two entertaining substitutes for the more "honest" chronicles of history. He has also introduced us to the Les-cus of line 238 in his romance of Kenilworth.]

* See the Just Devil of Woodstock, or a true Narrative of the several

At Sarum take a cavalier,¹
 I' th' cause's service, prisoner ?
 As Withers, in immortal rhyme,
 Has register'd to after-time. 170
 Do not our great reformers use
 This Sidrophel to forebode news ;²
 To write of victories next year,
 And castles taken, yet i' th' air ?
 Of battles fought at sea, and ships 175
 Sunk, two years hence, the last eclipse ?³
 A total o'erthrow giv'n the king
 In Cornwall, horse and foot, next spring ?⁴
 And has not he point-blank foretold
 Whats'e'er the close committee would ? 180
 Made Mars and Saturn for the cause,⁵
 The moon for fundamental laws,

¹ Withers has a long story, in doggerel verse of a soldier of the King's army, who being a prisoner at Salisbury, and drinking a health to the devil upon his knees, was carried away by him through a single pane of glass.

² Lilly, Booker, Culpepper and others were employed to foretel victories on the side of the parliament. Lilly was a time-serving rascal, who hesitated at no means of getting money. See his life, written by himself.

³ Suppose we read *since* the last eclipse, or suppose we point it thus :
 Sunk two years since the last eclipse :

Lilly grounded lying predictions on that event. Dr. Grey says, his reputation was lost upon the false prognostic on the eclipse that was to happen on the 29th of March 1652, commonly called Black Monday, in which his predictions not being fully answered, Mr Heath observes, (Chronicle p. 210.) "That he was regarded no more for the future, than one of his own worthless almanacs."

⁴ It is certain that the parliament in their reports of victories, neither observed time or place. Cleveland, in his character of a London diurnal, p. 113, says of Lord Stamford : "This cubit and a half of a commander, by the help of a diurnal, routed the enemies fifty miles off." The subject here is not false reports, but false predictions : the direct contrary happened to what is here said ; the king overthrew the parliamentarians in Cornwall.

⁵ Made the planets and constellations side with the parliament ; or, as bishop Warburton observes, the planets and signs here recapitulated

Apparitions, the Frights and Punishments inflicted upon the rumpish Commissioners, by Thomas Widows, master of the free school at North-leach, Gloucestershire. It was not printed till 1660, though the date put to it is 1649. See Bishop of Peterborough's Register and Chronicle.



R. Pochet sculpt

JOHN BOKKER.

From a rare Manuscript.

The Ram, the Bull, the Goat, declare
Against the book of common prayer ?
The Scorpion take the protestation, 185
And Bear engage for reformation ?
Made all the royal stars recant,
Compound, and take the covenant ?¹
Quoth Hudibras, 'The case is clear
The saints may 'mploy a conjurer, 190
As thou hast prov'd it by their practice ;
No argument like matter of fact is :
And we are best of all led to
Men's principles, by what they do.
Then let us strait advance in quest 195
Of this profound gymnosophist,²
And as the fates and he advise,
Pursue, or wave this enterprise.
This said, he turned about his steed,
And eftsoons on th' adventure rid ; 200
Where leave we him and Ralph awhile,
And to the Conj'rer turn our stile,
To let our reader understand
What's useful of him beforehand.
He had been long t'wards mathematics, 205
Optics, philosophy, and statics,
Magic, horoscopy, astrology,
And was old dog at physiology ;
But as a dog, that turns the spit,³
Bestirs himself, and plies his feet 210

may signify the several leaders of the parliamentary army—Essex, Fairfax, and others.

¹ The author here evidently alludes to Charles, elector palatine of the Rhine, and to king Charles the second, who both took the covenant.

² The gymnosophists were a sect of philosophers in India, so called from their going naked. They were much respected for their profound knowledge ; and held in the same estimation among their countrymen as the Chaldæi among the Assyrians, the magi among the Persians, and the druids among the Gauls and Britons.

³ Mr. Prior's simile seems to have been suggested by this passage :

To climb the wheel, but all in vain,
 His own weight brings him down again;
 And still he's in the self-same place
 Where at his setting out he was :
 So in the circle of the arts 215
 Did he advance his nat'ral parts,
 Till falling back still, for retreat,
 He fell to juggle, cant, and cheat :¹
 For as those fowls that live in water
 Are never wet, he did but smatter ; 220
 Whate'er he labour'd to appear,
 His understanding still was clear ;²
 Yet none a deeper knowledge boasted,
 Since old Hodge Bacon, and Bob Grosted.³
 Th' intelligible world he knew,⁴ 225
 And all men dream on't to be true,
 That in this world there's not a wart
 That has not there a counterpart ;
 Nor can there, on the face of ground,
 An individual beard be found 230

Dear Thomas, didst thou never see,
 ('Tis but by way of simile)
 A squirrel spend his little rage
 In jumping round a rolling cage ?
 But here or there, turn wood or wire,
 He never gets two inches higher.
 So fares it with those merry blades
 That frisk it under Pindus' shades.

¹ The account here given of William Lilly agrees exactly with his life written by himself.

² Clear, that is, empty.

³ Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar, flourished in the thirteenth century. His penetration in most branches of philosophy was the wonder of the age. Bayle says he wrote an hundred books, many of them upon astronomy, geometry, and medicine. Robert Grosted, or Grossa Testa, lived nearly at the same time with Bacon. He wrote some treatises on astronomy and mathematics ; but his works were chiefly theological. Several books were translated by him from the Greek language ; which if any understood in that age, he was sure, as Erasmus says, to be taken for a conjuror.

⁴ The intelligible world is spoken of, by some persons, as the model or prototype of the visible world. See P. i. c. i. v. 535. and note.



R Cooper sculp^t

ROGER PACCHY.

Portrait of Roger Pachy, 1711.

That has not, in that foreign nation,
 A fellow of the self-same fashion;
 So cut, so colour'd, and so curl'd,
 As those are in th' inferior world.
 He 'ad read Dee's prefaces before 235
 The devil and Euclid o'er and o'er;¹
 And all th' intrigues 'twixt him and Kelly,
 Lescus and th' emperor, would tell ye:²
 But with the moon was more familiar
 Than e'er was almanac well-willer;³ 240

¹ Dr. John Dee, a Welchman, was admitted to the degree of M.A. and had a testimonial from the university of Cambridge in 1548. He was presented by Edward VI. to the living of Upton upon Severn, in Worcestershire, in the year 1552, when John Harley was made bishop of Hereford. He gained great fame at the time of Elizabeth and James I. by his knowledge in mathematics; Tycho Brahe gives him the title of præstantissimus mathematicus; and Camden calls him nobilis mathematicus. He wrote a preface to Euclid, and to Billingsley's Geometry, *Epistola præfixa Ephemeridi Johannis Felde*, 1557; *Epistola ad Commandinum præfixa libello de superficiorum divisionibus*, 1570: and perhaps in the whole not less than fifty treatises. He began early to have the reputation of a conjuror; of which he grievously complains in his preface to Euclid. This report, and his pretended transactions with spirits, gave the poet occasion to call it Dee's preface before the devil.

² Kelly was born at Worcester, and bred to the business of an apothecary there, about the year 1555. Sometimes he is called Talbot. He was a famous alchymist, and Dee's assistant, his seer or skryer, as he calls him. Uriel, one of their chief spirits, was the promoter of this connection. Soon after a learned Polonian, Albert Alaski, prince of Sirad, whom Mr. Butler calls Lescus, came into England, formed an acquaintance with Dee and Kelly; and, when he left this country, took them and their families with him into Poland. Next to Kelly, he was the greatest confidant of Dee in his secret transactions. Camden speaks of this Lescus in his *Annals*, 1583. "*E Polonia Russiæ vicina, hac ætate venit in Angliam Albertus Alasco Palatinus Siradiensis, vir eruditus, barba promississima,*" &c. From Poland, Dee and Kelly, after some time, removed to Prague. They were entertained by the emperor Rodolph II. disclosed to him some of their chymical secrets, and shewed him the wonderful stone. The emperor, in return, treated them with great respect. Kelly was knighted by him, but afterwards imprisoned; and he died in 1587. Dee had received some advantageous offers, it is said, from the king of France, the emperor of Muscovy, and several foreign princes. Perhaps he had given them some specimens of his service in the capacity of a spy. However, he returned to England, and died very poor, at Mortlake in Surrey, in the year 1608, aged 81. — *would tell ye*: — In the author's edition it is printed "*would not tell ye.*" To raise the greater opinion of his knowledge, he would pretend to make a secret of things which he did not understand.

³ The almanac makers stiled themselves well-willers to the mathematics, or philomaths.

Her secrets understood so clear,
 That some believ'd he had been there ;
 Knew when she was in fittest mood
 For cutting corns, or letting blood ;¹
 When for anointing scabs and itches, 245
 Or to the bum applying leeches ;
 When sows and bitches may be spay'd,
 And in what sign best cider's made ;
 Whether the wane be, or increase,
 Best to set garlic, or sow pease ; 250
 Who first found out the man i' th' moon,
 That to the ancients was unknown ;
 How many dukes, and earls, and peers,
 Are in the planetary spheres,
 Their airy empire, and command, 255
 Their sev'ral strengths by sea and land ;
 What factions they 've, and what they drive at
 In public vogue, or what in private ;
 With what designs and interests
 Each party manages contests. 260
 He made an instrument to know
 If the moon shine at full or no ;
 That would, as soon as e'er she shone, straight
 Whether 'twere day or night demonstrate ;
 Tell what her d'ameter to an inch is, 265
 And prove that she's not made of green cheese.
 It wou'd demonstrate, that the man in
 The moon's a sea mediterranean ;²

¹ Respecting these, and other matters mentioned in the following lines, Lilly, and the old almanac makers, gave particular directions. It appears from various calendars still preserved, not to mention the works of Hesiod, and the apotelesms of Manetho, Maximus, and Julius Firmicus, that astrologers among the Greeks and Romans conceived some planetary hours to be especially favourable to the operations of husbandry and physic.

² The light of the sun being unequally reflected, and some parts of the moon appearing more fully illuminated than others, on the supposition of the moon's being a terraqueous globe, it is thought that the brighter parts are land, and the darker water. This instrument, therefore, would give a more distinct view of those dusky figures, which had



R Cooper sculp^t

DR. JOHN DEE.

From an Original Picture in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

And that it is no dog nor bitch
 That stands behind him at his breech, 270
 But a huge Caspian sea or lake,
 With arms, which men for legs mistake ;
 How large a gulph his tail composes,
 And what a goodly bay his nose is ;
 How many German leagues by th' scale 275
 Cape snout's from promontory tail.
 He made a planetary gin,
 Which rats would run their own heads in,
 And come on purpose to be taken,
 Without th' expence of cheese or bacon ; 280
 With lute-strings he would counterfeit
 Maggots, that crawl on dish of meat ;¹
 Quote moles and spots on any place
 O' th' body, by the index face ;²
 Detect lost maidenheads by sneezing,³ 285
 Or breaking wind of dames, or pissing ;
 Cure warts and corns, with application
 Of med'cines to th' imagination ;
 Fright agues into dogs, and scare,
 With rhymes, the tooth-ach and catarrh ;⁴ 290

vulgarly been called the man in the moon, and discover them to be branches of the sea. In the Selenography of Florentius Langrenus, Johannes Hevelius, and others, the dark parts are distinguished by the names of *mare crisium*, *mare serenitatis*, *oceanus procellarum*, &c.

¹ The small strings of a fiddle or lute, cut into short pieces, and strewed upon warm meat, will contract, and appear like live maggots.

² "Some physiognomers have conceited the head of man to be the model of the whole body ; so that any mark there will have a corresponding one on some part of the body." See Lilly's life.

³ Democritus is said to have pronounced more nicely on the maid servant of Hippocrates. "*Puellæque vitium solo aspectu deprehendit.*" Yet the eyes of Democritus were scarcely more acute and subtle than the ears of Albertus Magnus : "*nec minus vocis mutationem ob eandem fere causam : quo tantum signo ferunt Albertum Magnum, ex museo suo, puellam, ex vinopolio vinum pro hero deportantem, in itinere vitiatam fuisse deprehendisse ; quod, in reditu subinde, cantantibus ex acutâ in graviorem mutatam vocem agnovisset.*" Gasper a Reies, in *elysio jucund. quæstion. campo*. Lilly professed this art, and said no woman, that he found a maid, ever twitted him with his being mistaken.

⁴ Butler seems to have raked together many of the baits for human

Chase evil spirits away by dint
 Of sickle, horseshoe, hollow flint ;¹
 Spit fire out of a walnut-shell,
 Which made the Roman slaves rebel ;²
 And fire a mine in China here, 295
 With sympathetic gunpowder.
 He knew what's ever's to be known,
 But much more than he knew would own.
 What med'cine 'twas that Paracelsus
 Could make a man with, as he tells us ;³ 300
 What figur'd slates are best to make,
 On wat'ry surface duck or drake ;⁴

credulity which his reading could furnish, or he had ever heard mentioned. These charms for tooth-achs and coughs were well known to the common people a few years since. The word *abracadabra*, for fevers, is as old as Sammonicus. *Haut haut hista pista vista*, were recommended for a sprain by Cato. [Cato prodidit luxatis membris carmen auxiliare. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxviii.] Homer relates, that the sons of Autolyceus stopped the bleeding of Ulysses's wound by a charm. See Odyss. xix. 457. and Barnes' Notes and Scholia :

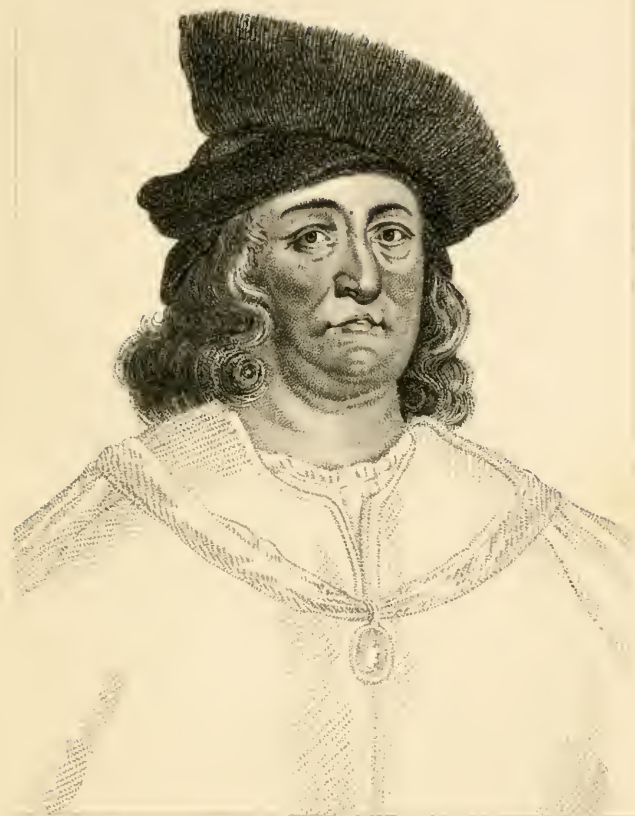
—ἐπαοιᾶ ὃ' αἶμα κελαϊνὸν
 ἔσχεθον.

¹ These concave implements, particularly the horseshoe, we have often seen nailed to the threshold of doors in the country, in order to chase away evil spirits.

² Lucius Florus, Livy, and other historians, give the following account of the origin of the servile war. There was a great number of slaves in Sicily, and one of them, a Syrian, called Eunus, encouraged his companions, at the order of the gods, as he said, to free themselves by arms. He filled a nutshell with fire and sulphur, and holding it in his mouth, breathed out flames, when he spoke to them, in proof of his divine commission. By this deception he mustered more than 40,000 persons.

³ That philosopher, and others, thought that man might be generated without connection of the sexes. See this idea ridiculed by Rabelais, lib. ii. ch. 27. "Et celeberrimus Athanasius Kircherus, libro secundo "mundi subterranei præclare et solidis rationibus, refutavit stultitiam "nugatoris Paracelsi, qui (de generat. rerum naturalium, lib. i.) copiose "admodum docere voluit ridiculam methodum generandi homunciones "in vasis chemicorum." p. 38. Franc. Redi de generat. insectorum. The poet probably had in view Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, who at page 490, gives a full account of this matter, both from Paracelsus and others.

⁴ The poet, by mentioning this play of children, means to intimate that Sidrophel was a smatterer in natural philosophy, knew something of the laws of motion and gravity, though all he arrived at was but childish play, no better than making ducks and drakes.



R. Cooper sculp.

PARACELSUS.

From a Print by Gaywood.

What bowling-stones, in running race
 Upon a board, have swiftest pace ;
 Whether a pulse beat in the black 305
 List of a dappled louse's back ; ¹
 If systole or diastole move
 Quickest when he's in wrath, or love ; ²
 When two of them do run a race,
 Whether they gallop, trot, or pace ; 310
 How many scores a flea will jump,
 Of his own length, from head to rump, ³
 Which Socrates and Chærephon
 In vain assay'd so long ago ;

¹ See Sparrmann's Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, vol. ii. p. 291. It was the fashion with the wits of our author's time to ridicule the transactions of the Royal Society. Mr. Butler here indulges his vein by bantering their microscopic discoveries. At present every one must be inclined to adopt the sentiment of Cowley :

Mischief and true dishonour fall on those
 Who would to laughter or to scorn expose
 So virtuous and so noble a design,
 So human for its use, for knowledge so divine.
 The things which these proud men despise, and call
 Impertinent, and vain, and small,
 Those smallest things of nature let me know,
 Rather than all their greatest actions do !

The learned and ingenious bishop Hurd delivers his opinion on this passage in two lines from Pope :

But sense surviv'd when merry jests were past,
 For rising merit will buoy up at last.

² Systole the contraction, and diastole the dilatation, of the heart, are motions of that organ by means of which the circulation of the blood is effected. The passions of the mind have a sensible influence on the animal economy. Some of them, fear and sorrow, chill the blood and retard its progress. Other passions, and especially anger and love, accelerate its motion, and cause the pulse to beat with additional strength and quickness.

³ Aristophanes, in his comedy of the Clouds, Act i. sc. 2. introduces a scholar of Socrates describing the method in which Socrates, and his friend Chærephon, endeavoured to ascertain how many lengths of his own feet a flea will jump. — *ψύλλαν ὅπόσους ἀλλοιο τοῦς αὐτῆς πόδας*, quot pedes suos pulex saltaret. They did not measure, as our author says, by the length of the body ; they dipped the feet of the flea in melted wax, which presently hardened into shoes ; these they took off, and measured the leap of the flea with them. It is probable that this representation had been received with pleasure by the enemies of Socrates. In the banquet of Xenophon the subject is taken up by one

Whether his snout a perfect nose is, 315
 And not an elephant's proboscis ; ¹
 How many diff'rent specieses
 Of maggots breed in rotten cheeses ;
 And which are next of kin to those
 Engender'd in a chandler's nose ; 320
 Or those not seen, but understood,
 That live in vinegar and wood. ²
 A paltry wretch he had, half starv'd,
 That him in place of Zany serv'd, ³
 Hight Whachum, bred to dash and draw, 325
 Not wine, but more unwholesome law ;
 To make 'twixt words and lines huge gaps, ⁴
 Wide as meridians in maps ;
 To squander paper, and spare ink,
 Or cheat men of their words, some think. 330
 From this, by merited degrees,
 He'd to more high advancement rise,
 To be an under-conjuror,
 Or journeyman astrologer :

of the company : ἀλλ' εἰπέ μοι, πόσους ψύλλα πόδας ἰμοῦ ἀπέχει. ταῦτα γὰρ σε φασὶ γεωμετρεῖν. — and is dismissed by Socrates with a kind of cool contempt. Plato somewhere alludes to the same jest. A flea had jumped from the forehead of Chærephon to the head of Socrates, which introduced the enquiry.

¹ Microscopic inquirers tell us that a flea has a proboscis, somewhat like that of an elephant, but not quite so large.

² The pungency of vinegar is said, by some, to arise from the bites of animalcules which are contained in it. For these discoveries see Hook's micrographical observations.

³ A Zany is a buffoon, or Merry Andrew, designed to assist the quack, as the ballad-singer does the cut-purse or pickpocket. Some have supposed this character of Whachum to have been intended for one Tom Jones, a foolish Welchman. Others think it was meant for Richard Green, who published a pamphlet entitled "Hudibras in a 'snare.'" The word zany is derived by some from the Greek *σαννας*, a fool, *τζαννος* ; (see Eustath. ad. Odyss. xxii. and Meursii Glossar. Græco-barb.) by others from the Venetian Zani, abbreviated from *giovanni*.

⁴ As the way of lawyers is in their bills and answers in chancery, where they are paid so much a sheet.

His bus'ness was to pump and wheedle, 335
 And men with their own keys unriddle;¹
 To make them to themselves give answers,
 For which they pay the necromancers;
 To fetch and carry intelligence
 Of whom, and what, and where, and whence, 340
 And all discoveries disperse
 Among th' whole pack of conjurers;
 What cut-purses have left with them,
 For the right owners to redeem,
 And what they dare not vent, find out, 345
 To gain themselves and th' art repute;
 Draw figures, schemes, and horoscopes,
 Of Newgate, Bridewell, brokers' shops,
 Of thieves ascendant in the cart,²
 And find out all by rules of art: 350
 Which way a serving-man, that's run
 With clothes or money away, is gone;
 Who pick'd a fob at holding-forth,
 And where a watch, for half the worth,
 May be redeem'd; or stolen plate 355
 Restor'd at conscionable rate.
 Beside all this, he serv'd his master
 In quality of poetaster,

¹ Menckenius, in his book de Charlataneria Eruditorum, ed. Amst. 1747. p. 192. tells this story: Jactabat empiricus quidam, se ex solo urinæ aspectu non solum de morbis omnibus, sed et de illorum causis, quæcunque demum illæ fuerint, sive natura, sive sors tulisset, certissime cognoscere; interim ille ita instruxerat servulos suos, ut callide homines ad se accedentes explorarent, et de his, quæ comperta haberent, clam ad se referrent. — Accedit mulier paupercula cum lotio mariti, quo vix viso, maritus tuus, inquit, per scalas domus infausto casu decidit. Tum illa admirabunda, istudne, ait, ex urina intelligis? Imo vero, inquit empiricus, et nisi me omnia fallunt, per quindecim scalæ gradus delapsus est. At cum illa, utique viginti se numerasse referret, hic velut indignatus quærit: num omnem secum urinam attulisset: atque illa negante, quod vasculum materiam omnem non caperet: itaque, ait, effudisti cum urina quinque gradus illos, qui mihi ad numerum deerant. — I wonder this story escaped Dr. Grey.

² Ascendant, a term in astrology, is here equivocal.

And rhymes appropriate could make
 To ev'ry month i' th' almanack ; 360
 When terms begin, and end, could tell,
 With their returns, in doggerel ;
 When the exchequer opes and shuts,
 And sowgelder with safety cuts ;
 When men may eat and drink their fill, 365
 And when be temp'rate, if they will ;
 When use, and when abstain from vice,
 Figs, grapes, phlebotomy, and spice.
 And as in prisons mean rogues beat
 Hemp for the service of the great, ¹ 370
 So Whachum beat his dirty brains
 T' advance his master's fame and gains,
 And like the devil's oracles,
 Put into dogg'rel rhymes his spells, ²
 Which, over ev'ry month's blank page 375
 I' th' almanack, strange bilks presage. ³
 He would an elegy compose
 On maggots squeez'd out of his nose ;
 In lyric numbers write an ode on
 His mistress, eating a black-pudden ; 380
 And, when imprison'd air escap'd her,
 It puffed him with poetic rapture :
 His sonnets charm'd th' attentive crowd,
 By wide-mouth'd mortal troll'd aloud,
 That, circled with his long-ear'd guests, 385
 Like Orpheus, look'd among the beasts :
 A carman's horse could not pass by,
 But stood ty'd up to poetry :

¹ Petty rogues, in Bridewell, pound hemp ; and it may happen that the produce of their labour is employed in halters, in which greater criminals are hanged.

² Plutarch has a whole treatise to discuss the question, why Apollo had ceased to deliver his oracles in verse : which brings on an incidental inquiry why his language was often bad, and his verses defective.

³ Bilk is a Gothic word, signifying a cheat or fraud : it signifies likewise to baulk or disappoint.

No porter's burden pass'd along,
 But serv'd for burden to his song: 390
 Each window like a pill'ry appears,
 With heads thrust thro' nail'd by the ears;
 All trades run in as to the sight
 Of monsters, or their dear delight,
 The gallow-tree, ¹ when cutting purse 395
 Breeds bus'ness for heroic verse,
 Which none does hear, but would have hung
 T' have been the theme of such a song. ²
 Those two together long had liv'd,
 In mansion, prudently contriv'd, 400
 Where neither tree nor house could bar
 The free detection of a star;
 And nigh an ancient obelisk
 Was rais'd by him, found out by Fisk,
 On which was written not in words, 405
 But hieroglyphic mute of birds, ³

¹ Thus Cleveland, in his poem entitled the Rebel Scot:

A Scot when from the gallow tree got loose,
 Drops into Styx, and turns a Soland goose.

² The author perhaps recollected some lines in sir John Denham's poem on the trial and death of the earl of Strafford:

Such was his force of eloquence, to make
 The hearers more concern'd than he that spake;
 Each seem'd to act that part he came to see,
 And none was more a looker on than he;
 So did he move our passions, some were known
 To wish, for the defence, the crime their own.

When Mars and Venus were surprised in Vulcan's net, and the deities were assembled to see them, Ovid says:

— aliquis de dis non tristibus optet
 Sic fieri turpis — Metamorph. lib. iv. 187.

³ Fisk was a quack physician and astrologer of that time, and an acquaintance of William Lilly, the almanac-maker and prognosticator. "In the year 1663," says Lilly in his own life, "I became acquainted with Nicholas Fisk, licentiate in physic, born in Suffolk, fit for, but not sent to, the university. Studying at home astrology and physic, which he afterwards practised at Colchester." He had a pension from the parliament; and during the civil war, and the whole of the usurpation, prognosticated on that side. [*Mute.* The dung of birds. Todd in his edition of Johnson, with this passage quoted.]

Many rare pithy saws,¹ concerning
 The worth of astrologic learning :
 From top of this there hung a rope,
 To which he fasten'd telescope ;² 410
 The spectacles with which the stars
 He reads in smallest characters.
 It happened as a boy, one night,
 Did fly his tarsel of a kite,³
 The strangest long-wing'd hawk that flies, 415
 That, like a bird of Paradise,
 Or herald's martlet, has no legs,⁴
 Nor hatches young ones, nor lays eggs ;

¹ Pithy, that is, nervous, witty, full of sense and meaning, like a proverb. Saw, that is, say, or saying, from A. S. Douglas applies it to any saying, (p. 143, v. 52,) and once in a bad sense to indecent language :

Nu rist with sleath, and many unseemly saw
 Quhare schame is loist. P. 90, v. 15.

² Refracting telescopes were formerly so constructed as to require such an awkward apparatus. Hugenius invented a telescope without a tube. The object-glass was fixed to a long pole, and its axis directed towards any object by a string, which passed down from the glass above to the eye-glass below. He presented to the Royal Society an object glass of one hundred and twenty-three feet focal distance, with an apparatus belonging to it, which he had made himself. It is described in his *Astroscopia compendiaría tubi optici molimine liberata*, Hague, 1684.

³ Tiersel, or tiercelet, as the French call the male hawk, which is less in the body by a third part than the female, from whence it hath the name. Lord Bacon says it is stronger, and more courageous than the female.

⁴ The bird of Paradise, or the *Pica Paradisæa* of Linnæus. The *manucodiata* of Edwards and Ray. The Portuguese first saw them in Gilolo, Papua, and New Guinea : many idle fables have been propagated concerning these birds, among which are to be reckoned, that they have no feet, pass their lives in the air, and feed on that element ; but it is found that the feet are cut off, that the birds may dry the better, and the scapular feathers prevent their sitting on trees in windy weather. Naturalists describe many species, but the *Paradisæa apoda*, or greater bird of Paradise is generally about two feet in length. See Latham, Syn. ii. 47. Index, i. 194. and Essay on India, by John Reinhold Forster, p. 17. Martlets are painted by the heralds without legs, or with very short ones, scarcely visible. In Le Blanc's Travels, p. 115, we are told of the birds of Paradise, that they are kept in a cage in the Sultan's garden, and are thought by Europeans to have no legs. Lord Bacon has the following passage in his Works, fol. vol. iv. p. 325.

His train was six yards long, milk white,
 At th' end of which there hung a light, 420
 Enclos'd in lanthorn made of paper,
 That far off like a star did appear :
 This Sidrophel by chance espy'd,
 And with amazement staring wide :
 Bless us, quoth he, what dreadful wonder 425
 Is that appears in heaven yonder ?
 A comet, and without a beard !
 Or star, that ne'er before appear'd !
 I'm certain 'tis not in the scrowl
 Of all those beasts, and fish, and fowl, ¹ 430
 With which, like Indian plantations,
 The learned stock the constellations ; ²
 Nor those that, drawn for signs, have been
 To th' houses where the planets inn. ³

" The second reason that made me silent was, because this suspicion
 " and rumour of undertaking settles upon no person certain: it is
 " like the birds of Paradise, that they have in the Indies, that have no
 " feet, and therefore never light upon any place, but the wind carries
 " them away. And such a thing I take this rumour to be." Pliny, in
 his Natural History, has a chapter de Apodibus, lib. x. ch. 39.

¹ Astronomers, for the help of their memory, and to avoid giving
 names to every star in particular, have divided them into constellations
 or companies, which they have distinguished by the names of several
 beasts, birds, fishes, &c. as they fall within the compass which the
 forms of these creatures reach to. Butler, in his Genuine Remains,
 vol. i. p. 9, says :

Since from the greatest to the least,
 All other stars and constellations
 Have cattle of all sorts of nations.

This distribution of the stars is very ancient. Tully mentions it from
 Aratus, in nearly the same terms which are used in our astronomical
 tables. The divisions are called houses by the astrologers.

² Cosmographers, in their descriptions of the world, when they found
 many vast places, whereof they knew nothing, are used to fill the same
 with an account of Indian plantations, strange birds, beasts, &c. So
 historians and poets, says Plutarch, embroider and intermix the tales of
 ancient times with fictions and fabulous discoveries.

³ Signus, a pun between signs for public houses, and signs or con-
 stellations in the heavens. Aratus and Eratosthenes. — The Cataste-
 rismoï of the latter, printed at the end of Fell's Aratus, are nearly as
 old as Aratus himself. See also Hall's Virgidemiarum, book ii. Sat. vii.
 v. 29.

It must be supernatural, 435
 Unless it be that cannon-ball
 That, shot i' the air, point-blank upright,
 Was borne to that prodigious height,
 That, learn'd philosophers maintain,
 It ne'er came backwards down again,¹ 440
 But in the airy regions yet
 Hangs, like the body o' Mahomet :²
 For if it be above the shade,
 That by the earth's round bulk is made,
 'Tis probable it may from far, 445
 Appear no bullet, but a star.
 This said, he to his engine flew,
 Plac'd near at hand, in open view,
 And rais'd it, till it levell'd right
 Against the glow-worm tail of kite ;³ 450
 Then peeping thro', Bless us ! quoth he,
 It is a planet now I see ;
 And, if I err not, by his proper
 Figure, that's like tobacco-stopper, ⁴
 It should be Saturn : yes, 'tis clear 455
 'Tis Saturn ; but what makes him there ?

¹ Some foreign philosophers directed a cannon against the zenith ; and, having fired it, could not find where the ball fell ; from whence it was conjectured to have stuck in the moon. Des Cartes imagined that the ball remained in the air.

² The improbable story of Mahomet's body being suspended in an iron chest, between two great loadstones, is refuted by Mr. Sandys and Dr. Pridcaux.

³ The luminous part of the glow-worm is the tail.

⁴ This alludes to the symbol which astronomers use to denote the planet Saturn (♄), and astrologers use a sign not much unlike it. It is no wonder Sidrophel should be puzzled to know for certain whether it was Saturn or not, as the phases of Saturn are very various and extraordinary, and long perplexed the astronomers, who could not divine the meaning of such irregularity : thus Hevelius observes, that he appears sometimes *monospherical*, sometimes, *trispherical*, *spherico-ansated*, *elliptico-ansated* and *spherico-cuspidated* ; but Huygens reduced all these phases to three principal ones, *round*, *brachiated*, and *ansated*. See Chambers's Dictionary, art. Saturn.

He's got between the Dragon's tail,
And further leg behind o' th' Whale ;¹
Pray heav'n divert the fatal omen,
For 'tis a prodigy not common, 460
And can no less than the world's end,
Or nature's funeral, portend.
With that, he fell again to pry
Thro' perspective more wistfully,
When, by mischance, the fatal string, 465
That kept the tow'ring fowl on wing,
Breaking, down fell the star. Well shot,
Quoth Whachum, who right wisely thought
He 'ad levell'd at a star, and hit it ;
But Sidrophel, more subtle-witted, 470
Cry'd out, What horrible and fearful
Portent is this, to see a star fall !
It threatens nature, and the doom
Will not be long before it come !
When stars do fall, 'tis plain enough 475
The day of judgment's not far off ;
As lately 'twas reveal'd to Sedgwick,²
And some of us find out by magick :
Then, since the time we have to live
In this world's shorten'd, let us strive 480
To make our best advantage of it,
And pay our losses with our profit.
This fear fell out not long before
The Knight, upon the forenam'd score,

¹ Sidrophel, the star-gazer, names any two constellations he can think of: or rather, the poet designs to make him blunder, by fixing on those which are far distant from each other, on different sides of the equator; and also by talking of the whale's hinder leg. On some old globes the whale is described with legs.

² Will. Sedgwick was a whimsical fanatic preacher, settled by the parliament in the city of Ely. He pretended much to revelations, and was called the apostle of the Isle of Ely. He gave out that the approach of the day of judgment had been disclosed to him in a vision; and going

In quest of Sidrophel advancing, 485
 Was now in prospect of the mansion ;
 Whom he discov'ring, turn'd his glass,
 And found far off 'twas Hudibras.

Whachum, quoth he, Look yonder, some
 To try or use our art are come : 490
 The one's the learned Knight ; seek out,
 And pump' em what they come about.
 Whachum advanc'd, with all submiss'ness
 T' accost 'em, but much more their business :
 He held the stirrup, while the Knight 495
 From leathern bare-bones did alight ;
 And, taking from his hand the bridle,
 Approach'd the dark Squire to unriddle.
 He gave him first the time o' th' day, ¹
 And welcom'd him, as he might say : 500
 He ask'd him whence they came, and whither
 Their business lay ? Quoth Ralpho, Hither.
 Did you not lose ? ² — Quoth Ralpho, Nay.
 Quoth Whachum, Sir, I meant your way ?
 Your Knight — Quoth Ralpho, Is a lover, 505
 And pains intol'able doth suffer ;
 For lovers' hearts are not their own hearts,
 Nor lights, nor lungs, and so forth downwards.
 What time ? — Quoth Ralpho, Sir, too long,
 Three years it off and on has hung — 510
 Quoth he, I meant what time o' th' day 'tis.
 Quoth Ralpho, Between seven and eight 'tis.

to the house of sir Francis Russel, in Cambridgeshire, where he found several gentlemen, he warned them all to prepare themselves, for the day of judgment would be some day in the next week.

¹ He bade him good evening : see line 540.

² He supposes they came to inquire after something stolen or strayed, the usual case with people when they apply to the cunning man. In these lines we must observe the artfulness of Whachum, who pumps the squire concerning the knight's business, and afterwards relates it to Sidrophel in the presence of both of them.

Why then, quoth Whachum, my small art
 Tells me the Dame has a hard heart,
 Or great estate. Quoth Ralph, A jointure, 515
 Which makes him have so hot a mind t' her.
 Mean-while the Knight was making water,
 Before he fell upon the matter :
 Which having done, the Wizard steps in,
 To give him a suitable reception ; 520
 But kept his business at a bay,
 Till Whachum put him in the way ;
 Who having now, by Ralpho's light,
 Expounded th' errand of the Knight,
 And what he came to know, drew near, 525
 To whisper in the Conj'rer's ear,
 Which he prevented thus : What was't,
 Quoth he, that I was saying last, ¹
 Before these gentlemen arriv'd ?
 Quoth Whachum, Venus you retriev'd, 530
 In opposition with Mars,
 And no benign and friendly stars
 T' allay the effect. ² Quoth Wizard, So :
 In Virgo ? ha ! Quoth Whachum, No : ³
 Has Saturn nothing to do in it ? ⁴ 535
 One tenth of's circle to a minute !
 'Tis well, quoth he — Sir you'll excuse
 This rudeness I am forc'd to use ;

¹ To prevent the suspicion which might be created by whispering, he causes Whachum to relate his intelligence aloud, in the cant terms of his own profession.

² There should be no comma after the word retriev'd ; it here signifies found, observed, from the French retrouver. Venus, the goddess of love, opposes and thwarts Mars, the god of war, and there is likely to be no accord between them. By which he gives him to understand, that the knight was in love, and had small hopes of success.

³ Is his mistress a virgin ? No.

⁴ Saturn, Κρόνος, was the god of time. The wizard by these words inquires how long the love affair had been carried on. Whachum replies, one tenth of his circle to a minute, or three years ; one tenth of the thirty years in which Saturn finishes his revolution, and exactly the time which the knight's courtship had been pending.

It is a scheme, and face of heaven
 As th' aspects are dispos'd this even, 540
 I was contemplating upon
 When you arriv'd ; but now I've done.

Quoth Hudibras, if I appear
 Unseasonable in coming here
 At such a time, to interrupt 545
 Your speculations, which I hop'd
 Assistance from, and come to use,
 'Tis fit that I ask your excuse.

By no means, Sir, quoth Sidrophel,
 The stars your coming did foretel ; 550
 I did expect you here, and knew,
 Before you spake, your business too. ¹

Quoth Hudibras, Make that appear,
 And I shall credit whatsoe'er
 You tell me after, on your word, 555
 Howe'er unlikely, or absurd.

You are in love, Sir, with a widow,
 Quoth he, that does not greatly heed you,
 And for three years has rid you wit
 And passion, without drawing bit ; 560
 And now your business is to know
 If you shall carry her, or no.

Quoth Hudibras, You're in the right,
 But how the devil you come by't
 I can't imagine ; for the stars, 565
 I'm sure, can tell no more than a horse :
 Nor can their aspects, tho' you pore
 Your eyes out on 'em, tell you more
 Than th' oracle of sieve and sheers, ²
 That turns as certain as the spheres ; 570

¹ In some editions we read, *Know* before you *speak*.

² " Put a paire of sheeres in the rim of a sieve, and let two persons
 " set the tip of each of their forefingers upon the upper part of the
 " sheers, holding it with the sieve up from the ground steddilie, and ask

But if the Devil's of your counsel,
 Much may be done, my noble donzel ; ¹
 And 'tis on this account I come,
 To know from you my fatal doom.

Quoth Sidrophel, If you suppose, 575
 Sir Knight, that I am one of those,
 I might suspect, and take the alarm,
 Your business is but to inform : ²
 But if it be, 'tis ne'er the near,
 You have a wrong sow by the ear ; 580
 For I assure you, for my part,
 I only deal by rules of art ;

" Peter and Paul whether A. B. or C. hath stolne the thing lost, and at
 " the nomination of the guilty person the sieve will turne round." Scot's
 Discovery of Witchcraft, book xii. ch. xvii. 262. The *κοσκινοδότης*,
 or diviner by a sieve, is mentioned by Theocritus Idyll. iii. 31. The
 Greek practice differed very little from that which has been stated
 above. They tied a thread to the sieve, or fixed it to a pair of shears,
 which they held between two fingers. After addressing themselves to
 the gods, they repeated the names of the suspected persons ; and he, at
 whose name the sieve turned round, was adjudged guilty. Potter's Gr.
 Antiq. vol. i. p. 352.

¹ A sneering kind of appellation : donzel being a diminutive from
 don. Butler says, in his character of a squire of Dames, (vol. ii. p. 379.)
 " he is donzel to the damzels, and gentleman usher daily waiter on the
 " ladies, that rubs out his time in making legs and love to them." The
 word is likewise used in Ben Jonson's Alchymist. [" *Donzel del Phebo*.
 " A celebrated hero of romance in the Mirror of Knighthood, &c.
 " *Donzel* is from the Italian, *donzello*, and means a Squire, or young
 " man ; or, as Florio says, ' A damosell,, a bachelor,' &c. He seems
 " always united with Rosiclear.

" Defend thee powerfully, marry thee sumptuously, and keep thee in
 " despite of Rosiclear or *Donzel del Phebo*.

" Malcontent, O. Pl. iv. 92.

" *Donzel del Phebo* and Rosiclear ! are you there ?

The Bird in a Cage, O. Pl. viii. 248

" So the Captain in Philaster calls the citizens in insurrection with
 " him, ' My dear *Donsels* : and presently after, when Philaster appears
 " salutes him by the title of

— My royal Rosiclear !

" We are thy myrmidons, thy guards, thy roarers.

" Philaster, v. p. 166-7." — Nares's Glossary.]

² At that time there was a severe inquisition against conjurers,
 witches, &c. See the note on line 143. In Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi.
 p. 666. is a special pardon from king James to Simon Read, for prac-
 tising the black art. It is entitled, De Pardonatione pro Simone Read

Such as are lawful, and judge by
 Conclusions of astrology ;
 But for the devil ; know nothing by him, 585
 But only this, that I defy him.

Quoth he, Whatever others deem ye,
 I understand your metonymy ; ¹
 Your words of second-hand intention, ²
 When things by wrongful names you mention ;
 The mystic sense of all your terms,
 That are indeed but magic charms
 To raise the devil, and mean one thing,
 And that is downright conjuring ;
 And in itself more warrantable ³ 595
 Than cheat or canting to a rabble,
 Or putting tricks upon the moon,
 Which by confed'racy are done.
 Your ancient conjurers were wont
 To make her from her sphere dismount, ⁴ 600
 And to their incantations stoop ;
 They scorn'd to pore thro' telescope,
 Or idly play at bo-peep with her,
 To find out cloudy or fair weather,

de Invocatione, et Conjuratone Cacodæmonum. He is there said to have invoked certain wicked spirits in the year 1608, in the parish of St. George, Southwark, particularly one such spirit called Heavelon, another called Faternon, and a third called Cleveton.

¹ Metonymy is a figure of speech, whereby the cause is put for the effect, the subject for the adjunct.

² Terms of second intention, among the schoolmen, denote ideas which have been arbitrarily adopted for purposes of science, in opposition to those which are connected with sensible objects.

³ The knight has no faith in astrology ; but wishes the conjurer to own plainly that he deals with the devil, and then he will hope for some satisfaction from him. To shew what may be done in this way, he recounts the great achievements of sorcerers.

⁴ So the witch Canidia boasts of herself in Horace :

Polo

Deripere lunam vocibus possim meis.

The ancients frequently introduced this fiction. See Virgil, Eclogue viii. 69. Ovid's Metamorphoses, vii. 207. Propertius, book. i. elegy i. 19. and Tibullus, book i. elegy ii. 44.



R Cooper sculp^r

ST. MAURICE.

From an ancient painting in the Vatican Museum.

Which ev'ry almanac can tell 605
 Perhaps as learnedly and well
 As you yourself — 'Then, friend, I doubt
 You go the furthest way about :
 Your modern Indian Magician
 Makes but a hole in th' earth to piss in,¹ 610
 And straight resolves all questions by't,
 And seldom fails to be i' th' right.
 The Rosy-crucian way's more sure
 To bring the devil to the lure ;
 Each of 'em has a sev'ral gin, 615
 To catch intelligences in.²
 Some by the nose, with fumes, trepan 'em,
 As Dunstan did the devil's grannam.³
 Others with characters and words
 Catch 'em, as men in nets do birds ;⁴ 620
 And some with symbols, signs, and tricks,
 Engrav'd in planetary nicks,⁵
 With their own influences will fetch 'em
 Down from their orbs, arrest, and catch 'em ;⁶

¹ "The king presently called to his Bongi to clear the air ; the conjurer immediately made a hole in the ground, wherein he urined." *Le Blanc's Travels*, p. 98. The ancients Zabii used to dig a hole in the earth, and fill it with blood, as the means of forming a correspondence with demons, and obtaining their favour.

² To secure demons or spirits.

³ The chymists and alchymists. In the *Remains of Butler*, vol. ii. p. 235, we read : "these spirits they use to catch by the noses with fumigations, as St. Dunstan did the devil, by a pair of tongs." The story of St. Dunstan taking the devil by the nose with a pair of hot pincers, has been frequently related. St. Dunstan lived in the tenth century : was a great admirer and proficient in the polite arts, particularly painting and sculpture. As he was very attentively in his cell engraving a gold cup, the devil tempted him in the shape of a beautiful woman. The saint, perceiving in the spirit who it was, took up a red hot pair of tongs, and catching hold of the devil by the nose, made him howl in such a terrible manner, as to be heard all over the neighbourhood.

⁴ By repetition of magical sounds and words, properly called enchantments.

⁵ By figures and signatures described according to astrological symmetry ; that is, certain conjunctions or oppositions with the planets and aspects of the stars.

⁶ *Carmina vel cœlo possunt deducere lunam.*

Make 'em depose, and answer to
 All questions, e'er they let them go. 625
 Bombastus kept a devil's bird
 Shut in the pummel of his sword,¹
 That taught him all the cunning pranks
 Of past and future mountebanks.
 Kelly did all his feats upon 630
 The devil's looking glass, a stone,²

¹ Bombastus de Hohenheim, called also Aurelius Philippus, and Theophrastus, but more generally known by the name of Paracelsus was son of William Hohenheim, and author, or rather restorer, of chymical pharmacy. He ventured upon a free administering of mercury and laudanum; and performed cures, which, in those days of ignorance, were deemed supernatural. He entertained some whimsical notions concerning the antediluvian form of man, and man's generation. Mr. Butler's note on this passage is in the following words: "Paracelsus is said to have kept a small devil prisoner in the pummel of his sword; which was the reason, perhaps, why he was so valiant in his drink. However, it was to better purpose than Hannibal carried poison in his sword, to dispatch himself if he should happen to be surprised in any great extremity: for the sword would have done the feat alone much better and more soldier-like. And it was below the honour of so great a commander to go out of the world like a rat."

² Dr. Dee had a stone, which he called his angelical stone, pretending that it was brought to him by an angel: and "by a spirit it was, sure enough," says Dr. M. Casaubon. We find Dee himself telling the emperor "that the angels of God had brought to him a stone of that value, that no earthly kingdom is of that worthiness, as to be compared to the virtue or dignity thereof."* It was large, round, and very transparent; and persons who were qualified for the sight of it, were to perceive various shapes and figures, either represented in it as in a looking-glass, or standing upon it as on a pedestal. This stone is now in the possession of the very learned and ingenious earl of Orford, at Strawberry-hill.† It appears to be a volcanic production, of the species vulgarly called the black Iceland agate, which is a perfectly vitrified lava; and according to Bergman's analysis, contains of siliceous earth sixty-nine parts in an hundred: argillaceous twenty-two parts, and martial nine. See Berg. Opusc. vol. iii. p. 204. and Letters from Iceland, lett. 25. The lapis obsidianus of the ancients is supposed to have been of this species: a stone, according to Pliny, "quem in Æthiopia

* See Casaubon's relation of what passed between Dr. Dee and some spirits, printed at London, 1659.

† The authenticity and identity of this stone cannot be doubted, as its descent is more clearly proved than that of Agamemnon's sceptre. It was specified in the catalogue of the earl of Peterborough, at Drayton; thence fell to lady Betty Germaine, who gave it to the duke of Argyle, and his son lord Frederick Campbell to lord Orford.



R Cooper sculp.

EDWARD KELLY.

From a drawing prepared for the Rev. Book of Hours 1657

Where, playing with him at bo-peep,
He solv'd all problems ne'er so deep.

Agrippa kept a Stygian pug,

635

I' th' garb and habit of a dog,¹

That was his tutor, and the cur

Read to th' occult philosopher,²

"invenit Obsidius, nigerrimi coloris aliquando et translucidi, crassiore visu, atque in speculis parietum pro imagine umbras reddente." Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. cap. 26. The same kind of stone is found also in South America; and called by the Spaniards, from its colour, *pedra de gallinaço*. The poet might here term it the devil's looking-glass, from the use which Dce and Kelly made of it: and because it has been the common practice of conjurers to answer the enquiries of persons, by representations shewn to them in a looking-glass. Dr. M. Casaubon quotes a passage to this purpose from a manuscript of Roger Bacon, inscribed, *De dictis et factis falsorum mathematicorum et dæmonum*. "The demons sometimes appear to them really, sometimes imaginarily in basons and polished things, and shew them whatever they desire. Boys, looking upon these surfaces, see by imagination, things that have been stolen; to what places they have been carried; what persons took them away; and the like." In the præmium of Joach. Came-rarius to Plutarch *De Oraculis*, we are told that a gentleman of Nurim-berg had a crystal which had this singular virtue, viz. if any one desired to know any thing past or future, let a young man, castum, or who was not yet of age, look into it; he would first see a man, so and so appalled, and afterwards what he desired. We meet with a similar story in Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, part iii. The earl of Hertford, brother to queen Jane Seymour, having formerly been employed in France, acquainted himself there with a learned man, who was supposed to have great skill in magic. To this person, by rewards and importunities, he applied for information concerning his affairs at home; and his impertinent curiosity was so far gratified, that by the help of some magical perspective, he beheld a gentleman in a more famliar posture with his wife than was consistent with the honour of either party. To this diabolical illusion he is said to have given so much credit, that he not only estranged himself from her society at his return, but furnished a second wife with an excellent reason for urging the disinherison of his former children. The ancients had also the *Λιθομαντεία*.

¹ As Paracelsus had a devil confined in the pummel of his sword, so "Agrippa had one tied to his dog's collar," says Erastus. It is probable that the collar had some strange unintelligible characters engraven upon it. Mr. Butler hath a note on these lines in the following words: "Cornelius Agrippa had a dog that was suspected to be a spirit, for some tricks he was wont to do beyond the capacity of a dog. But the author of *Magia Adamica* has taken a great deal of pains to vindicate both the doctor and the dog from that aspersion; in which he has shewn a very great respect and kindness for them both."

² A book entitled, *De Occultâ Philosophiâ*, was ascribed to Agrippa; and from thence he was called the occult philosopher.

And taught him subt'ly to maintain
All other sciences are vain.¹

640

To this, quoth Sidrophello, Sir,
Agrippa was no conjurer,²
Nor Paracelsus, no, nor Behmen;
Nor was the dog a caco-dæmon,
But a true dog that would shew tricks

645

For th' emp'ror, and leap o'er sticks;
Would fetch and carry, was more civil
Than other dogs, but yet no devil;
And whatsoe'er he's said to do,
He went the self-same way we go.

650

As for the Rosy-cross philosophers,
Whom you will have to be but sorcerers,
What they pretend to is no more
Than Trismegistus did before,³
Pythagoras, old Zoroaster,
And Apollonius their master,⁴

655

¹ Bishop Warburton says, nothing can be more pleasant than this turn given to Agrippa's silly book, *De Vanitate Scientiarum*.

² A subject of much disputation. Paulus Jovius, and others, maintain that he was. Wierus and Monsieur Naudé endeavour to vindicate him from the charge: *Apologie pour les grands hommes accusés de magie*. Perhaps we may best apologize for Agrippa, by saying, that he was not the author of every book which has been attributed to him. See canto i. line 540.

³ The Egyptian Thoth or Tout, called Hermes by the Greeks, and Mercury by the Latins, from whom the chymists pretend to have derived their art, is supposed to have lived soon after the time of Moses, and to have made improvements in every branch of learning. "Thoth," says Lactantius, "*antiquissimus et instructissimus omni genere doctrinæ, adeo ut ei multarum rerum et artium scientiâ Trismegisto cognomen imponeret.*" B. i. cap. 6. The Egyptians anciently engraved their laws and discoveries in science upon columns, which were deposited in the colleges of the priests. The column in their language was termed Thoth. And in a country where almost every thing became an object of worship, it is no wonder that the sacred column should be personified, and that Thoth should be revered as the inventor or great promoter of learning.

⁴ Pythagoras, a Greek Philosopher, flourished about the sixth or seventh century before Christ. He was the scholar of Thales; and travelled forty years in Egypt, Chaldea, and other parts of the East, *velut pædo literarum*, for the sake of improvement. See Diog. Laert. He was initiated into all their mysteries. At last he settled in Italy, and founded the Italic sect. He commonly expressed himself by symbols.

To whom they do confess they owe
All that they do, and all they know.

Quoth Hudibras,—Alas, what is't t' us
Whether 'twas said by Trismegistus, 660
If it be nonsense, false or mystick,
Or not intelligible or sophistick ?
'Tis not antiquity, nor author,
That makes truth truth, altho' time's daughter ; ¹
'Twas he that put her in the pit, 665
Before he pulled her out of it ; ²

Many incredible stories are reported of him by Laertius, Jamblicus, and others. Old Zoroaster, so old that authors know not when he lived. Some make him contemporary with Abraham. Others place him five thousand years before the Trojan war. Justin says of him, "Postremum illi (Nino) bellum cum Zoroastre, rege Bactrianorum fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse, et mundi principia, siderumque motus diligentissimè spectasse." Lib. i. cap. 1.

Apollonius, of Tyana, lived in the time of Domitian. He embraced the doctrines of Pythagoras ; travelled far both east and west ; everywhere spent much of his time in the temples ; was a critical inspector of the pagan worship ; and set himself to reform and purify their ritual. He was much averse to animal sacrifices, and condemned the exhibitions of gladiators. Many improbable wonders are related of him by Philostratus ; and more are added by subsequent writers. According to these accounts he raised the dead, rendered himself invisible,* was seen at Rome and Puteoli on the same day ; and proclaimed at Ephesus the murder of Domitian at the very instant of its perpetration at Rome. This last fact is attested by Dio Cassius, the consular historian ; who, with the most vehement asseverations, affirms it to be certainly true, though it should be denied a thousand times over. Yet the same Dio elsewhere calls him a cheat and impostor. Dio lxxviii. ult. et lxxvii. 18. For an account of the difference of the *Γοητεία*, *Μαγεία*, *Φαρμακεία*, three of the principal ancient superstitions brought from Persia, see Suidas in vocem *Γοητεία*. Their master, i. e. master of the Rosicrucians.

¹ The knight argues that opinions are not always to be received on the authority of a great name ; nor does the antiquity of an opinion ever constitute the truth of it, though time will often give stability to truth, and foster it as a legitimate offspring. Yet perhaps there is many a learned character to which the lines of Horace are applicable :

Qui redit in fastos, et virtutem æstimat annis ;
Miraturque nihil, nisi quod Libitina sacravit.

Epist. lib. ii. ep. i. 48.

² Time brings many truths to light : according to Horace, Epist. lib. i. ep. vi. 24 :

Quicquid sub terrâ est in apricum proferet ætas.

* The heathens were fond of comparing these feats with the miracles of Jesus Christ.

And as he eats his sons, just so
 He feeds upon his daughters too.¹
 Nor does it follow, 'cause a herald
 Can make a gentleman, scarce a year old,² 670
 To be descended of a race
 Of ancient kings in a small space,
 That we should all opinions hold
 Authentic, that we can make old.
 Quoth Sidrophel, It is no part 675
 Of prudence to cry down an art,
 And what it may perform, deny,
 Because you understand not why ;
 As Averrhois play'd but a mean trick,
 To damn our whole art for eccentrick,³ 680

But time often involves subjects in perplexity, and occasions those very difficulties which afterwards it helps to remove. "Veritatem in "puteo latentem non inconcinne finxit antiquitas." Cicero employs a saying of Democritus to this purpose, *Academ. Quæst* i. 12. "angustus "sensus, imbecillos animos, brevîa curricula vitæ, et ut Democritus, in "profundo veritatem esse demersam." Again in Lucullo: *Natu-* "ram accusa, quæ in profundo veritatem, ut ait Democritus, pen- "itus abstruserit," Bishop Warburton observes, that the satire contained in these lines of our author is fine and just. Cleanthes said that "truth was hid in a pit." "Yes" answers the poet; "but you, Greek "philosophers were the first that put her in there, and then claimed so "much merit to yourselves for drawing her out." The first Greek philosophers greatly obscured truth by their endless speculations, and it was business enough for the industry and talents of their successors to clear matters up.

¹ If truth is "time's daughter," yet Saturn, *Χρόνος*, or Time, may be never the kinder to her on that account. For as poets feign that Saturn eats his sons, so he feeds upon his daughters. He devours truths as well as years and buries them in oblivion.

² In all civil wars the order of things is subverted; the poor become rich, and the rich poor. And they who suddenly gain riches must in the next place be furnished with an honourable pedigree. Many instances of this kind are preserved in Walker's *History of Independency*, Bate's *Lives of the Regicides*, &c.

³ Averroes flourished in the twelfth century. He was a great critic, lawyer, and physician; and one of the most subtle philosophers that ever appeared among the Arabians. He wrote a commentary upon Aristotle, from whence he obtained the surname of commentator. He much disliked the epicycles and eccentrics which Ptolemy had introduced into his system; they seemed so absurd to him, that they gave him a disgust to the science of astronomy in general. He does not seem to have formed a more favourable opinion of astrology.

For who knows all that knowledge contains ?
 Men dwell not on the tops of mountains,
 But on their sides, or risings, seat ;
 So 'tis with knowledge's vast height.
 Do not the hist'ries of all ages 685
 Relate miraculous presages
 Of strange turns, in the world's affairs,
 Foreseen b' astrologers, sooth-sayers,
 Chaldeans, learned Genethliacs, ¹
 And some that have writ almanacs ? 690
 The Median emp'ror dream'd his daughter
 Had pist all Asia under water, ²
 And that a vine, sprung from her haunches,
 O'erspread his empire with its branches ;
 And did not soothsayers expound it, 695
 As after by th' event he found it ?
 When Cæsar in the senate fell,
 Did not the sun eclips'd foretell, ³
 And in resentment of his slaughter,
 Look'd pale for almost a year after ? 700
 Augustus having, b' oversight,
 Put on his left shoe 'fore his right, ⁴

Here likewise was too much eccentricity: and he condemned the art as useless and fallacious, having no foundation of truth or certainty.

¹ Genethliaci, termed also Chaldæi, were soothsayers, who undertook to foretel the fortunes of men from circumstances attending their births. Casters of nativity.

² Astyages, king of Media, had this dream of his daughter Mandane; and being alarmed at the interpretation of it which was given by the magi, he married her to Cambyzes, a Persian of mean quality. Her son was Cyrus, who fulfilled the dream by the conquest of Asia. See Herodotus, i. 107. and Justin.

³ The prodigies which are said to have been noticed before the death of Cæsar, are mentioned by several of the classics, Virgil, Ovid, Plutarch, &c. But the poet alludes to what is related by Pliny in his Natural History, ii. 30. "fiunt prodigiosi, et longiores solis defectus, "qualis occiso Cæsare dictatore, et Antoniano bello, totius pene anni "pallore continuo."

⁴ An excellent banter upon omens and prodigies. Pliny gives this account in his second book: "Divus Augustus lævum prodidit sibi cal-

Had like to have been slain that day,
 By soldiers mutin'ing for pay.
 Are there not myriads of this sort, 705
 Which stories of all times report ?
 Is it not ominous in all countries,
 When crows and ravens croak upon trees ?
 The Roman senate, when within
 The city walls an owl was seen, ¹ 710
 Did cause their clergy, with lustrations,
 Our synod calls humiliations,
 The round-fac'd prodigy t' avert
 From doing town or country hurt.
 And if an owl have so much pow'r, 715
 Why should not planets have much more,
 That in a region far above
 Inferior fowls of the air move,
 And should see further, and foreknow
 More than their augury below ? 720
 Tho' that once serv'd the polity
 Of mighty states to govern by ; ²
 And this is what we take in hand,
 By pow'rful art, to understand ;
 Which, how we have perform'd, all ages 725
 Can speak th' events of our presages.

" ceum præpostere inductum, quo die seditione militari prope adflictus
 " est." And Suetonius, in Augusti Vitâ, sect 92. says : " (Augustus)
 " auspicia quædam et omina pro certissimis observabat, si mane sibi
 " calceus perperam, ac sinister pro dextro induceretur, ut dirum."
 Charles the first is said to have been much affected by some omens of
 this kind, such as the sortes Virgilianæ, observations on his bust made
 by Bernini, and on his picture.

¹ Anno ante Christum 97, bubone in urbe viso, urbs lustrata. Bu-
 bone in capitolio supra deorum simulacra viso, cum piaretur, taurus
 victima exanimis concidit. Julius Obsequens, No. 44-45, et Lycos-
 thenes, p. 194-195.

² It appears from many passages of Cicero, and other authors, that
 the determinations of the augurs, aruspices, and the sibylline books,
 were commonly contrived to promote the ends of government, or to
 serve the purposes of the chief managers in the commonwealth.

Have we not lately in the moon,
 Found a new world, to th' old unknown ?
 Discover'd sea and land, Columbus
 And Magellan could never compass ? 730
 Made mountains with our tubes appear,
 And cattle grazing on them there ?
 Quoth Hudibras, You lie so ope,
 That I, without a telescope,
 Can find your tricks out, and descry 735
 Where you tell truth, and where you lie :
 For Anaxagoras long ago,
 Saw hills, as well as you, i' th' moon, ¹
 And held the sun was but a piece
 Of red hot iron as big as Greece ; ² 740
 Believ'd the heav'ns were made of stone,
 Because the sun had voided one ; ³

¹ See Burnet's *Archæolog.* cap. x. p. 144. Anaxagoras of Clazomene was the first of the Ionic philosophers who maintained that the several parts of the universe were the works of a supreme intelligent being, and consequently did not allow the sun and moon to be gods. On this account he was accused of impiety, and thrown into prison ; but released by Pericles. Plutarch in *Nicia*. "Are they not dreams of human vanity," says Montaigne, "to make the moon a celestial earth, there "to fancy mountains and vales as Anaxagoras did." And see Plutarch de *Placitis philosophorum*. Diog. Laert. and Plato de *legibus*. The poet might probably have bishop Wilkins in view, who maintained that the moon was an habitable world, and proposed schemes for flying there.

² Speaking of Anaxagoras, Monsieur Chevreau says : "We may easily excuse the ill humour of one who was seldom of the opinion of others : who maintained that snow was black, because it was made of water, which is black ; who took the heavens to be an arch of stone, which rolled about continually ; and the moon a piece of inflamed earth ; and the sun (which is about 434 times bigger than the earth) for a plate of red-hot steel, of the bigness of Peloponnesus."

[Οὗτος ἔλεγε τὸν ἥλιον μύθρον εἶναι διάπυρον, καὶ μέζω τῆς Πελοποννήσου. Diog. Laert. l. ii. § 8.]

In Mr. Butler's Remains we read :

For th' ancients only took it for a piece
 Of red hot iron, as big as Peloponese.

Rudis antiquitas, Homerum secuta, cœlum credidit esse ferreum. Sed Homerus a coloris similitudine ferreum dixit, non a pondere.

³ Anaxagoras had foretold that a large stone would fall from heaven, and it was supposed afterward to have been found near the river Ægos. Laert. ii. 10. and Plutarch in *Lysandro*, who discusses the matter at

And, rather than he would recant
Th' opinion, suffer'd banishment.

But what, alas ! is it to us, 745
Whether i' th' moon, men thus or thus
Do eat their porridge, cut their corns,
Or whether they have tails or horns ?
What trade from thence can you advance,
But what we nearer have from France ? 750
What can our travellers bring home,
That is not to be learnt at Rome ?
What politics, or strange opinions,
That are not in our own dominions ?
What science can be brought from thence, 755
In which we do not here commence ?
What revelations, or religions,
That are not in our native regions ?
Are sweating-lanterns,¹ or screen-fans,
Made better there than they're in France ? 760
Or do they teach to sing and play,
O' th' guitar there a newer way ?
Can they make plays there, that shall fit
The public humour with less wit ?
Write wittier dances, quainter shows, 765
Or fight with more ingenious blows ?
Or does the man i' th' moon look big,
And wear a huger periwig,

length. Mr. Costard explains this prediction to mean the approach of a comet ; and we learn from the testimony of Aristotle, and others, that a comet appeared at that juncture, olymp. lxxviii. 2. See Aristot. Meteor. The fall of the stone is recorded in the Arundel marbles.

¹ These lanterns, as the poet calls them, were boxes, wherein the whole body was placed, together with a lamp. They were used, by quacks, in the venereal disease, or to bring on perspiration. See Swift's Works, vol. vi. Pethox the Great, v. 56. Hawkesworth's edition. Screen fans are used to shade the eyes from the fire, and commonly hang by the side of the chimney ; sometimes ladies carried them along with them : they were made of leather, or paper, or feathers. I have a picture of Miss Ireton, who married Richard Walsh, of Abberley, in Worcestershire, with a curious feathered fan in her hand.

Shew in his gait, or face, more tricks
 Than our own native lunaticks? ¹ 770
 But, if w' outdo him here at home,
 What good of your design can come?
 As wind, i' th' hypocondres pent, ²
 Is but a blast, if downward sent;
 But if it upward chance to fly, 775
 Becomes new light and prophecy; ³
 So when our speculations tend
 Above their just and useful end,
 Altho' they promise strange and great
 Discoveries of things far fet, 780
 They are but idle dreams and fancies,
 And savour strongly of the ganzas. ⁴
 Tell me but what's the natural cause,
 Why on a sign no painter draws

¹ These and the foregoing lines were a satire upon the gait, dress, and carriage of the fops and beaux of those days.

² In the belly, under the short ribs. These lines are thus turned into Latin by Dr. Harmer:

*Sic hypocondriaci inclusa meatibus aura
 Desinet in crepitum, si fertur prona per alvum;
 Sed si summa petat, mentisque invaserit arcem
 Divinus furor est, et conscia flamma futuri.*

³ New light was the phrase at that time for any new opinion in religion, and is frequently alluded to by our poet: the phrase, I am told, prevails still in New England, as it does now in the north of Ireland, where the dissenters are chiefly divided into two sects, usually styled the old and the new lights. The old lights are such as rigidly adhere to the old Calvinistic doctrine; and the new lights are those who have adopted the more modern latitudinarian opinions: these are frequently averse and hostile to each other, as their predecessors the presbyterians and independents were in the time of Butler.

⁴ Godwin, afterwards bishop of Hereford, wrote in his youth, a kind of astronomical romance, under the feigned name of a Spaniard, Domingo Gonzales, and entitled it the Man in the moon, or a Discourse on a Voyage thither. It gives an account of his being drawn up to the moon in a light vehicle, by certain birds called ganzas. And the knight censures the pretensions of Sidrophel, by comparing them with this wild expedition. The poet likewise might intend to banter some projects of the learned bishop Wilkins, one of the first promoters of the Royal Society. At this institution, and its favourers, many a writer of that day has shot his bolt — *telum imbelles sine ictu*.

The full moon ever, but the half? 785
 Resolve that with your Jacob's staff; ¹
 Or why wolves raise a hubbub at her,
 And dogs howl when she shines in water?
 And I shall freely give my vote,
 You may know something more remote. 790
 At this, deep Sidrophel look'd wise
 And staring round with owl-like eyes,
 He put his face into a posture
 Of sapience, and began to bluster;
 For having three times shook his head 795
 To stir his wit up, thus he said:
 Art has no mortal enemies,
 Next ignorance, but owls and geese: ²
 Those consecrated geese, in orders,
 That to the Capitol were warders, ³ 800
 And being then upon patrol,
 With noise alone beat off the Gaul;
 Or those Athenian sceptic owls,
 That will not credit their own souls, ⁴

¹ A mathematical instrument for taking the heights and distances of stars.

² "Et quod vulgo aiunt, artem non habere inimicum nisi ignorantem." Sprat thought it necessary to write many pages to shew that natural philosophy was not likely to subvert our government, or our religion; and that experimental knowledge had no tendency to make men either bad subjects or bad christians. See Sprat's History of the Royal Society.

³ Our ancestors called the garrison of a castle or fortress its warders; hence our word guardian. Lands lying near many of the old castles were held by the tenure of castle-ward, the possessors being obliged to find so many men for the ward or guard of the castle. This was afterwards commuted into pecuniary payments, with which the governors hired mercenary soldiers or warders: the warders of the Tower of London still preserve the old appellation.

⁴ Incredulous persons. He calls them owls on account of their pretensions to great depth of learning, the owl being used as an emblem of wisdom; and Athenian, because that bird was sacred to Minerva, the protectress of Athens, and was borne on the standards of the city. Heralds say, *noctua signum est sapientiæ*; for she retires in the day, and avoids the tumult of the world, like a man employed in study and

Or any science understand, 805
 Beyond the reach of eye or hand ;
 But measuring all things by their own
 Knowledge, hold nothing's to be known :
 Those wholesale critics, that in coffee-
 Houses cry down all philosophy, 810
 And will not know upon what ground
 In nature we our doctrine found,
 Altho' with pregnant evidence
 We can demonstrate it to sense,
 As I just now have done to you, 815
 Foretelling what you came to know.
 Were the stars only made to light
 Robbers and burglars by night ? ¹
 To wait on drunkards, thieves, gold-finders,
 And lovers solacing behind doors ? 820
 Or giving one another pledges
 Of matrimony under hedges ?

contemplation. Since the owl however is usually considered as a moping drowsy bird, the poet intimates that the knowledge of these sceptics is obscure, confused, and indigested. The meaning of the whole passage is this:—There are two sorts of men, who are great enemies to the advancement of science. The first, bigoted divines, upon hearing of any new discovery in nature, apprehend an attack upon religion, and proclaim loudly that the capitol, i. e. the faith of the church, is in danger. The others are self-sufficient philosophers, who lay down arbitrary principles, and reject every truth which does not coincide with them.

¹ The poets thought the stars were not made only to light robbers. See the beautiful address to Hesperus :

"Εσπερε, τᾷς ἐρατᾷς χρύσειον φάος Ἀφρογενείας, &c.

Brunk. ηας

—— οὐκ ἐπὶ φωρὰν

"Ερχομαι, οὐδ' ἵνα νυκτὸς ὁδοιπορέοντ' ἐνοχλήσω,

'Αλλ' ἐράω, &c.

Bion. ii. 392. Brunk. An. vol. i. Mosch. Idyl. vii. according to the Oxford edit. of Bion and Moschus. E typ. Clar. 1748.

Sidrophel argues, that so many luminous bodies could never have been constructed for the sole purpose of affording a little light, in the absence of the sun. His reasoning does not contribute much to the support of astrology ; but it seems to favour the notion of a plurality of worlds.

Or witches simpling, and on gibbets
 Cuttings from malefactors snippets? ¹
 Or from the pill'ry tips of ears 825
 Of rebel-saints and perjurers?
 Only to stand by, and look on,
 But not know what is said or done?
 Is there a constellation there
 That was not born and bred up here; ² 830
 And therefore cannot be to learn
 In any inferior concern?
 Were they not, during all their lives,
 Most of 'em pirates, whores, and thieves?
 And is it like they have not still, 835
 In their old practices, some skill?
 Is there a planet that by birth
 Does not derive its house from earth;
 And therefore probably must know
 What is, and hath been done below? 840
 Who made the Balance, or whence came
 The Bull, the Lion, and the Ram?
 Did not we here the Argo rig,
 Make Berenice's periwig? ³
 Whose liv'ry does the coachman wear? 845
 Or who made Cassiopeia's chair?
 And therefore, as they came from hence,
 With us may hold intelligence.

¹ Collecting herbs, and other requisites, for their enchantments. See Shakspeare's *Macbeth*, Act. iv.

² Astronomers, both ancient and modern, have divided the heavens into certain figures, representing animals and other objects. Eratosthenes, the scholiast on Aratus, and Julius Hyginus, mention the reasons which determined men to the choice of these particular figures. See Sir Isaac Newton's *Chronology of the Greeks*, p. 83.

³ The constellation called coma Berenices. Berenice, the wife of Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt, in consequence of a vow, cut off and dedicated some of her beautiful hair to Venus, on the return of her husband from a military expedition. And Conon, the mathematician, paid her a handsome compliment, by forming the constellation of this name. Callimachus wrote a poem to celebrate her affection and piety: a translation of it by Catullus is still preserved in the works of that author.

Plato deny'd the world can be
 Govern'd without geometry,¹ 850
 For money b'ing the common scale
 Of things by measure, weight, and tale,
 In all th' affairs of church and state,
 'Tis both the balance and the weight:
 Then much less can it be without 855
 Divine astrology made out,
 That puts the other down in worth,
 As far as heaven's above earth.
 These reasons, quoth the Knight, I grant
 Are something more significant 860
 Than any that the learned use
 Upon this subject to produce;
 And yet they're far from satisfactory,
 T' establish and keep up your factory.
 Th' Egyptians say, the sun has twice² 865
 Shifted his setting and his rise;

¹ Plato, out of fondness for geometry, has employed it in all his systems. He used to say that the Deity did *γεωμετροῦν*, play the geometrician; that is, do every thing by weight and measure.

² The Egyptian priests informed Herodotus that, in the space of 11340 years, the sun had four times risen and set out of its usual course, rising twice where it now sets, and setting twice where it now rises — *ἔνθα τε νῦν καταδύεται ἐνθεῦτεν δις ἐπαντεῖλαι καὶ ἔνθεν*, &c. Herodotus, Euterpe, seu lib. ii. 142. A learned person supposes this account to be a corrupt tradition of the miraculous stop, or recession of the sun, in the times of Joshua and Hezekiah. Others suppose that what the priests told him for a chronical, was mistaken by Herodotus for an astronomical phenomenon; and that the particulars, which he has recorded in the words *ἔνθα* and *ἐνθεῦτεν* related only to the time of the day or year, and not to the place or quarter of the heavens. The Egyptian year consisted of no more than 360 days; and therefore the day in their calendar, which was once the summer solstice, would in 730 years become their winter solstice; and, in 1461 years, it would come to their summer solstice again. This Censorinus tells us was really the case. So that the four revolutions would happen in a much shorter time than the priests had assigned for them. Dr. Long explodes the whole for an idle story, invented by the Egyptians to support their vain pretensions to antiquity; and fit to pass only among persons who have no knowledge of astronomy. Indeed no others would believe that the cardinal points were entirely changed, or the rotation of the earth inverted. See Spenser, Fairy Queen, b. v. c. i. stanz. 6, 7, and 8, &c.

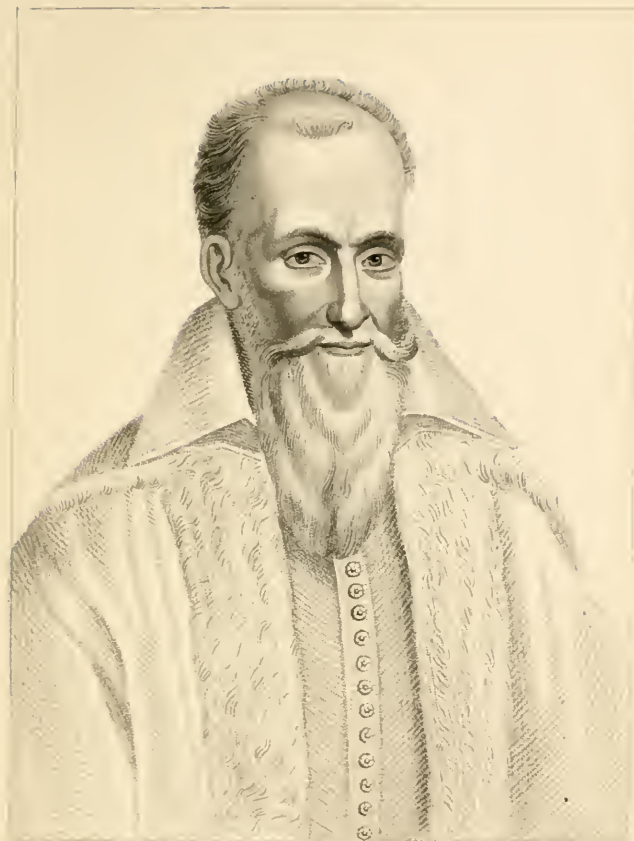
Twice has he risen in the west,
 As many times set in the east;
 But whether that be true or no,
 The devil any of you know. 870
 Some hold, the heavens, like a top,
 Are kept by circulation up,¹
 And were 't not for their wheeling round,
 They'd instantly fall to the ground:
 As sage Empedocles of old, 875
 And from him modern authors hold.
 Plato believ'd the sun and moon
 Below all other planets run.²
 Some Mercury, some Venus seat
 Above the sun himself in height. 880
 The learned Scaliger complain'd
 'Gainst what Copernicus maintain'd,³
 That in twelve hundred years, and odd,
 The Sun had left his ancient road,
 And nearer to the Earth is come, 885
 'Bove fifty thousand miles from home:

And if to those Egyptian wisards old
 (Which in star-read were wont have best insight)
 Faith may be given, it is by them told
 That since the time they first tooke the Sunnes hight,
 Foure times his place he shifted hath in sight,
 And twice hath risen where he now doth west,
 And wested twice where he ought rise aright.

¹ It is mentioned as the opinion of Anaxagoras, that the whole heaven, which was composed of stone, was kept up by violent circum-rotation, but would fall when the rapidity of that motion should be remitted. Some do Anaxagoras the honour to suppose, that this conceit of his gave the first hint towards the modern explications of the planetary motions.

² The knight further argues, that there can be no foundation for truth in astrology, since the learned differ so much about the planets themselves, from which astrologers chiefly draw their predictions. "Plato solem et lunam cæteris planetis inferiores esse putavit."

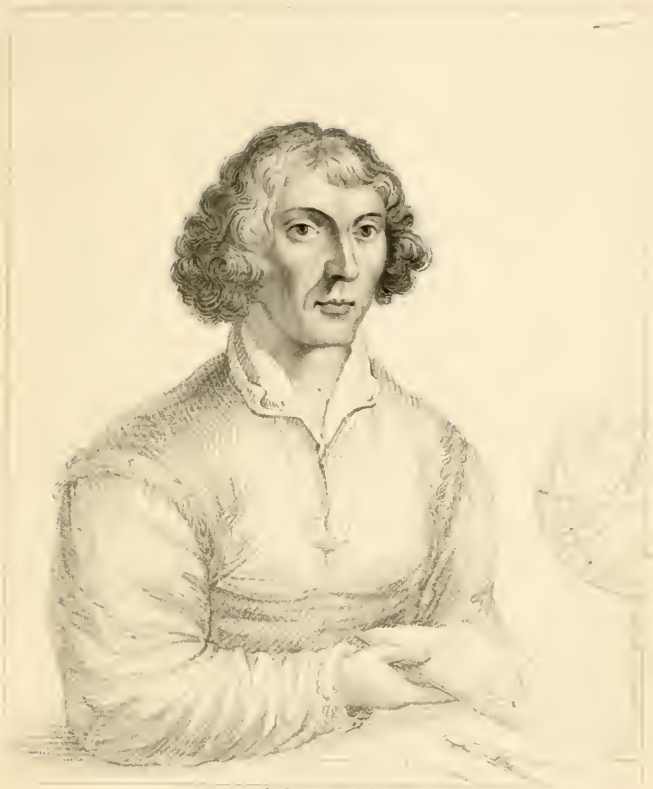
³ Copernicus thought that the eccentricity of the sun, or the obliquity of the ecliptic, had been diminished by many parts since the times of Ptolemy and Hipparchus. On which Scaliger observed, Copernici scripta spongiis, vel autorem scuticis dignum—that the writings of Copernicus deserved a sponge, or their author a rod.



P. Cooper sculp.

JOSEPH JUSTUS SCALIGER.

From Paris by Sadler.



R. Cooper sculp^t

ALONSO DE CORTES.

Spanish Conqueror.



R Cooper sculp

GEROME CARDAN.

Engraved by R. Cooper

Swore 'twas a most notorious flam,
 And he that had so little shame
 To vent such fopperies abroad,
 Deserv'd to have his rump well claw'd : 890
 Which Monsieur Bodin hearing, swore
 That he deserv'd the rod much more, ¹
 That durst upon a truth give doom,
 He knew less than the pope of Rome.
 Cardan believ'd great states depend 895
 Upon the tip o' th' Bear's tail's end ; ²
 That as she whisk'd it t'wards the Sun,
 Strow'd mighty empires up and down ;
 Which others say must needs be false,
 Because your true bears have no tails. 900
 Some say, the zodiac constellations
 Have long since chang'd their antique stations ³
 Above a sign, and prove the same
 In Taurus now, once in the Ram ;
 Affirm'd the Trigons chopp'd and chang'd, 905
 The wat'ry with the fiery rang'd ; ⁴

¹ Bodin, an eminent geographer and lawyer, was born at Angers, in France, and died of the plague at Laon, 1596, aged 67. According to his opinion, it has been clearly proved by Copernicus, Reinholdus, Stadius, and other famous mathematicians, that the circle of the earth has approached nearer to the sun than it was formerly.

² Cardan, a physician of Milan, was born at Padua, 1501. He conceived the influences of the several stars to be appropriated to particular countries. The fate of the greatest kingdoms in Europe, he said, was determined by the tail of Ursa Major. This astrologer foretold the time of his own death. But when the appointed day drew near, he found himself in perfect health, at the seventy-fifth year of his age ; and resolved to starve himself, lest he should disgrace his favourite science. Thuanus gives the character which Scaliger had drawn of him : in certain things he appeared superior to human understanding, and in a great many others inferior to that of little children. See Bayle's Dict.

³ The knight, still further to lessen the credit of astrology, observes that the stars have suffered a considerable variation of their longitude, by the precession of the equinoxes : for instance, the first star of Aries, which in the time of Meton the Athenian was found in the very intersection of the ecliptic and equator, is now removed eastward more than thirty degrees, so that the sign Aries possesses the place of Taurus, Taurus that of Gemini, and so on.

⁴ The twelve signs in astrology are divided into four trigons, or tri-

Then how can their effects still hold
 To be the same they were of old ?
 This, though the art were true, would make
 Our modern soothsayers mistake, ¹ 910
 And is one cause they tell more lies,
 In figures and nativities,
 Than th' old Chaldean conjurers,
 In so many hundred thousand years ; ²
 Beside their nonsense in translating, 915
 For want of accidence and latin ;
 Like Idus and Calendæ englisht
 The quarter days, by skilful linguist ; ³
 And yet with canting, slight, and cheat,
 'Twill serve their turn to do the feat ; 920
 Make fools believe in their foreseeing
 Of things before they are in being ;
 To swallow gudgeons ere they're catch'd,
 And count their chickens ere they're hatch'd ;

plicities, each denominated from the con-natural element : so they are three fiery, three airy, three watery, and three earthly.

Fiery—Aries, Leo, Sagittarius.

Earthly—Taurus, Virgo, Capricornus.

Airy—Gemini, Libra, Aquarius.

Watery—Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces.

¹ See our poet's arguments put into prose by Dr. Bentley, in the latter end of his third sermon at Boyle's lectures.

² The Chaldeans, as Cicero remarks, pretended to have been in possession of astrological knowledge for the long space of 47,000 years. But Diodorus informs us that, in things belonging to their art, they calculated by lunar years of thirty days. By this method, however, their account will reach to the creation, if not to a more distant epoch. It is well known that Berosus, or his scholars, new modelled and adopted the Babylonian doctrines to the Grecian mythology.

³ Mr. Smith, of Harleston, says this is a banter upon sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of Horace, Epod. ii. 69, 70.

Omnem relegit idibus pecuniam,

Quærit calendis ponere.

At Michaelmas calls all his monies in,

And at our Lady puts them out again.

The fifteenth day of March, May, July, and October, and the thirteenth day of all other months, was called the *ides*. The first day of every month was called the *calends*.

Make them the constellations prompt, 925
 And give 'em back their own accompt ;
 But still the best to him that gives
 The best price for't, or best believes.
 Some towns, some cities, some for brevity,
 Have cast the 'versal world's nativity, 930
 And made the infant stars confess,
 Like fools or children, what they please.
 Some calculate the hidden fates
 Of monkeys, puppy-dogs, and cats ;
 Some running nags, and fighting-cocks, 935
 Some love, trade, law-suits, and the pox :
 Some take a measure of the lives
 Of fathers, mothers, husbands, wives,
 Make opposition, trine, and quartile,
 Tell who is barren, and who fertile ; 940
 As if the planet's first aspect
 The tender infant did infect ¹
 In soul and body, and instill
 All future good and future ill ;

¹ The accent is laid upon the last syllable of *aspéct*, as it often is in Shakspeare : see Dr. Farmer's observations on the learning of Shakspeare, p. 27. Astrologers reckon five aspects of the planets: conjunction, sextile, quartile, trine, and opposition. Sextile denotes their being distant from each other a sixth part of a circle, or two signs; quartile, a fourth part, or three signs; trine, a third part, or four signs; opposition, half the circle, or directly opposite. It was the opinion of judicial astrologers, that whatever good disposition the infant might otherwise have been endued with, yet if its birth was, by any accident, so accelerated or retarded, that it fell in with the predominance of a malignant constellation, this momentary influence would entirely change its nature, and bias it to all contrary ill qualities. The ancients had an opinion of the influence of the stars :

Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum.

Horat. Ep. lib. ii. Ep. ii. 1. 187.

There would be no end of quoting authors on this subject, such as Menander and Plutarch among the Greeks; and among the Latins, Horace, Persius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Censorinus de die natali.

The tender infant did infect — Thus in line 931 :

And made the infant stars confess.

Which in their dark fatalities lurking, 945
 At destin'd periods fall a working,
 And break out, like the hidden seeds
 Of long diseases, into deeds,
 In friendships, enmities, and strife,
 And all th' emergencies of life : 950
 No sooner does he peep into
 The world, but he has done his do,
 Catch'd all diseases, took all physick,
 That cures or kills a man that is sick ;
 Marry'd his punctual dose of wives, 955
 Is cuckolded, and breaks, or thrives.
 There's but the twinkling of a star ¹
 Between a man of peace and war ;
 A thief and justice, fool and knave,
 A huffing off'cer and a slave ; 960
 A crafty lawyer and pick-pocket,
 A great philosopher and a blockhead ;
 A formal preacher and a player,
 A learn'd physician and man-slayer :
 As if men from the stars did suck 965
 Old age, diseases, and ill luck,
 Wit, folly, honour, virtue, vice,
 Trade, travel, women, claps, and dice ;
 And draw, with the first air they breathe,
 Battle, and murder, sudden death. ² 970
 Are not these fine commodities
 To be imported from the skies,
 And vended here among the rabble,
 For staple goods, and warrantable ?

¹ In the public opinion perhaps there is thought to be a coincidence in these characters ; some of them, we own, are more nearly allied than others. The author too, with his usual pleasantry, might be willing to allow the resemblance in a certain degree : but the scope of his argument requires him to attribute to them distinct and opposite qualities ; and in this sense no doubt, he meant seriously to be understood.

² This is one of the petitions in the litany, which the dissenters objected to ; especially the words sudden death. See Bennet's London Cases adridged, ch. iv. p. 100.

Like money by the Druids borrow'd, 975
In th' other world to be restor'd.¹

Quoth Sidrophel, To let you know
You wrong the art and artists too:
Since arguments are lost on those
That do our principles oppose, 980
I will, altho' I've don't before,
Demonstrate to your sense once more,
And draw a figure that shall tell you
What you, perhaps, forget befel you;
By way of horary inspection,² 985
Which some account our worst erection.

With that, he circles draws, and squares,
With cyphers, astral characters,
Then looks 'em o'er to understand 'em,
Altho' set down habnab at random.³ 990

Quoth he, This scheme of th' heavens set,
Discovers how in fight you met,
At Kingston, with a may-pole idol,⁴
And that y' were bang'd both back and side well;

¹ That is, atrolgers, by endeavouring to persuade men that the stars have dealt out to them their future fortunes, are guilty of a similar fraud with the Druids, who borrowed money on a promise of repaying it after death. *Druidæ pecuniam mutuo accipiebant, in posteriore vitâ reddituri.* This practice among the Druids was founded on their doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Valerius Maximus says of the Gauls in general, *Vetus ille Gallorum mos—quos memoria proditum est, pecunias mutuas, quæ his apud inferos redderentur, dare solitos, quia persuasum habuerunt, animas hominum immortales esse.* ii. 6. 10. And Mela says, *Unum ex iis quæ præcipiunt (Druides) in vulgus effluxit—æternas esse animas,—itaque cum mortuis cremant ac defodiunt apta viventibus olim.* *Negotiorum ratio etiam et exactio crediti deferebatur ad inferos.* ii. 2.—Bonzes, in the East Indies, are said to have been acquainted with this practice.

² The horoscope is the point of the heavens which rises above the eastern horizon, at any particular moment.

³ Dr. Davies says *habnab* is a Welsh word, and signifies rashly, at random. [Nares says, *habbe* or *nabbe*. Have or have not, hit or miss, at a venture: quasi, *have* or *n'ave*, i. e. have not; as *nill* for will not. "The citizens in their rage imagining that every post in the church had bin one of their souldyers, shot *habbe* or *nabbe*, at random." Holinshed, *Hist. of Ireland*. F. 2, col. 2.]

⁴ Mr. Butler alludes to the counterfeited second part of *Hudibras*,

And tho' you overcame the bear, 995
 The dogs beat you at Brentford fair;
 Where sturdy butchers broke your noddle,
 And handl'd you like a fop-doodle.

Quoth Hudibras, I now perceive
 You are no conj'rer, by your leave; 1000
 That paltry story is untrue,
 And forg'd to cheat such gulls as you.

Not true? quoth he; howe'er you vapour,
 I can what I affirm make appear;
 Whachum shall justify't to your face, 1005
 And prove he was upon the place:
 He play'd the saltinbancho's part,¹
 Transform'd t' a Frenchman by my art;
 He stole your cloak, and pick'd your pocket,
 Chous'd and caldes'd you like a blockhead,² 1010

published 1663. The first annotator gives us to understand, that some silly interloper had broken in upon our author's design, and invented a second part of his book. In this spurious production, the rencounters of Hudibras at Brentford, the transactions of a mountebank whom he met with, and probably these adventures of the may-pole at Kingston, are described at length. Cervantes, the author of *Don Quixote*, met with the like treatment [from Alphonsus Fernandes de Avellaneda]; and vindicated himself in the same manner, by making his knight declare that he was no way concerned in those exploits which a new historian had related of him. *May-poles* were held in abomination by the saints of our author's time; and many writers have expressed their abhorrence of them with great acrimony.

⁵ Saltimbanque is a French word, signifying a quack or mountebank. Perhaps it was originally Italian.

⁶ Caldes'd is a word of the poet's own coining. Mr. Warburton thinks he took the hint from the Chaldeans, who were great fortune-tellers. Others suppose it may be derived from the Gothic, or Old Teutonic, a language used by the Picts; among whom Caldees, or Keldeis, as Spotswood thinks, were the ancient ministers or priests, and so called because they lived in cells. See Camden's account of the Orkney isles. Pinkerton, in his *History of the Scots*, p. 273, says, "the Caldees united in themselves the distinctions of monks and of secular clergy, being apparently, to the eleventh century the only monks and clergy in Scotland, and all Irish." But perhaps we ought rather to look for this word in the vocabulary of gipsies and pickpockets, than either among the Chaldeans, the Scots, or the Irish. The signification of it, in Butler's *Remains*, is the same with trepanned. Vol. i. 24:

Asham'd that men so grave and wise
 Should be chaldes'd by gnats and flies.

And what you lost I can produce,
If you deny it, here i' the house.

Quoth Hudibras, I do believe
That argument's demonstrative ;
Ralpho, bear witness, and go fetch us 1015
A constable to seize the wretches :
For tho' they're both false knaves and cheats, ¹
Imposters, jugglers, counterfeits,
I'll make them serve for perpendic'lars,
As true as e'er were us'd by bricklayers : ² 1020
They're guilty, by their own confessions,
Of felony, and at the sessions,
Upon the bench I will so handle 'em,
That the vibration of this pendulum
Shall make all tailors yards of one 1025
Unanimous opinion : ²

Mr. Butler's MS. Common-place book has the following lines :

He that with injury is griev'd,
And goes to law to be reliev'd,
Is like a silly rabble chouse,
Who, when a thief had robb'd his house,
Applies himself to cunning man
To help him to his goods agen.

¹ Though they are false by their own confession, I will make them true for another purpose.

² i. e. swing them in a line, like a bricklayer's level.

³ Mr. Butler, in his own note on this passage, says : " the device of the vibration of a pendulum, was intended to settle a certain measure of ells, yards, &c. all the world over, which should have its foundation in nature. For by swinging a weight at the end of a string, and calculating by the motion of the sun or any star, how long the vibration would last, in proportion to the length of the string and weight of the pendulum, they thought to reduce it back again, and from any part of time compute the exact length of any string, that must necessarily vibrate for such a period of time. So that if a man should ask in China for a quarter of an hour of taffeta, they would know perfectly well what he meant : and the measure of things would be reckoned no more by the yard, foot, or inch : but by the hour, quarter, and minute." See his Remains by Thyer, vol. i. p. 30 :

By which he had composed a pedlar's jargon,
For all the world to learn and use to bargain,
An universal canting idiom
To understand the swinging pendulum,
And to communicate in all designs
With th' Eastern virtuoso mandarines.

A thing he long has vapour'd of,
But now shall make it out by proof.

Quoth Sidrophel, I do not doubt
To find friends that will bear me out ; ¹ 1030
Nor have I hazarded my art,
And neck, so long on the state's part,
To be expos'd i' th' end to suffer
By such a braggadocio huffer.

Huffer, quoth Hudibras, this sword 1035
Shall down thy false throat cram that word ;
Ralpho, make haste, and call an officer,
To apprehend this Stygian sophister ; ²
Mean while I'll hold 'em at a bay,
Lest he and Whachum run away. 1040

But Sidrophel, who from the aspect
Of Hudibras, did now erect
A figure worse portending far,
Than that of most malignant star ;
Believ'd it now the fittest moment 1045
To shun the danger that might come on't,
While Hudibras was all alone,
And he and Whachum, two to one :

And Dr. Derham's experiments concerning the vibration of a pendulum, in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. iii. No. 440, p. 201. The moderns perhaps will not be more successful in their endeavours to establish an universal standard of weights and measures.

[If the reader wishes to see the use the moderns have made of the Pendulum, he may refer to "An account of Experiments to determine the times of vibration of the Pendulum in different latitudes by Captain Edward Sabine of the Royal Regiment of Artillery," in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1821 — to the volume for 1823 — and to the volume for 1827, page 123, where he perhaps will find that at least the Captain is not the man "by the long level of his repeating circle" to

make all tailors yards of one

Unanimous opinion.]

¹ William Lilly wrote and prophesied for the parliament, till he perceived their influence decline. He then changed sides ; but having declared himself rather too soon, he was taken into custody ; and escaped only, as he tells us himself, by the interference of friends, and by cancelling the offensive leaf in his almanac.

² i. e. *hellish* sophister.

This being resolv'd, he spy'd by chance,
 Behind the door an iron lance,¹ 1050
 That many a sturdy limb had gor'd,
 And legs, and loins, and shoulders bor'd ;
 He snatch'd it up, and made a pass,
 To make his way thro' Hudibras.
 Whachum had got a fire-fork, 1055
 With which he vowed to do his work ;
 But Hudibras was well prepar'd,
 And stoutly stood upon his guard :
 He put by Sidrophello's thrust,
 And in right manfully he rusht, 1060
 The weapon from his gripe he wrung,
 And laid him on the earth along.
 Whachum his sea-coal prong threw by,
 And basely turn'd his back to fly ;
 But Hudibras gave him a twitch, 1065
 As quick as lightning in the breech,
 Just in the place where honour's lodg'd,²
 As wise philosophers have judg'd ;
 Because a kick in that part more
 Hurts honour, than deep wounds before. 1070
 Quoth Hudibras, The stars determine
 You are my prisoners, base vermin.
 Could they not tell you so, as well
 As what I came to know, foretell ?
 By this, what cheats you are, we find, 1075
 That in your own concerns are blind.³

¹ A spit for roasting meat.

² Mr. Butler in his speech made at the Rota, says (*Genuine Remains*, vol. i. p. 323) : "Some are of opinion that honour is seated in the rump " only, chiefly at least : for it is observed, that a small kick on that part " does more hurt and wound honour than a cut on the head or face, or a " stab, or a shot of a pistol, on any other part of the body."

³ "Astrologers," says Agrippa "while they gaze on the stars for divination, fall into ditches, wells and gaols." The crafty Tiberius not content with a promise of empire, examined the astrologer concerning his

Your lives are now at my dispose,
 To be redeem'd by fine or blows :
 But who his honour would defile,
 To take, or sell, two lives so vile ? 1080
 I'll give you quarter ; but your pillage
 The conqu'ring warrior's crop and tillage,
 Which with his sword he reaps and plows,
 That's mine, the law of arms allows.
 This said in haste, in haste he fell 1085
 To rummaging of Sidrophel.
 First, he expounded both his pockets,
 And found a watch with rings and lockets, ¹
 Which had been left with him t'erect
 A figure for, and so detect. 1090
 A copper plate with almanacks
 Engrav'd upon't, with other knacks ²
 Of Booker's, Lilly's, Sarah Jimmers, ³
 And blank-schemes to discover nimmers ; ⁴
 A moon-dial, with Napier's bones, ⁵ 1095
 And sev'ral constellation stones,

own horoscope intending to drown him on the least appearance of falsehood. But Thrasyllus was always too cunning for him : he answered the first time " that he perceived himself at that instant to be in imminent danger ;" and afterwards, " that he was destined to die just ten years before the emperor himself." Tacit. Ann. vi. 21. Dio lviii. 27.

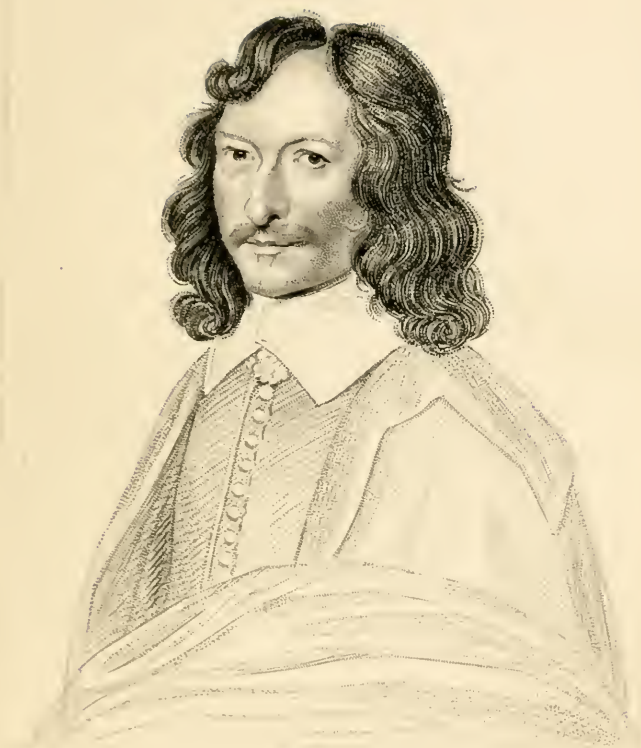
¹ To negotiate between the robber and the robbed was certainly the most profitable part of the astrologer's business.

² That is marks or signs belonging to the astrologer's art : from the Anglo Saxon *cnapan*, to know, or understand. *Knack* often signifies a bauble or plaything ; a child's ball is called a *knack*. The Glossarist on Douglas says " We (the Scots) use the word *knack* for a witty expression or action : a knacky man, that is, a witty facetious man ; " which may come from the Teutonic *schnaike*, *facetiae*." The verb to *knack* in Douglas signifies to mock.

³ John Booker was born at Manchester, and a great astrologer. Lilly has frequently been mentioned. Sarah Jimmers, called by Lilly, Sarah Skilhorn was a great speculatrix.

⁴ Thieves : from the A. S. *niman*, *rapere*, though it generally signifies pick-pockets, private stealers.

⁵ Lord Napier of Scotland, was author of an invention for casting up any sums or numbers by little rods, which being made of ivory were called Napier's bones. He first discovered the use of logarithms in trig-



R Cooper sculp^t

WILLIAM LILLY.

From an original picture in the Bodleian Museum.

Engrav'd in planetary hours,
 That over mortals had strange powers
 To make them thrive in law or trade,
 And stab or poison to evade ; 1100
 In wit or wisdom to improve,
 And be victorious in love.

Whachum had neither cross nor pile, ¹
 His plunder was not worth the while ;
 All which the conqu'ror did discompt, 1105
 To pay for curing of his rump.

But Sidrophel, as full of tricks
 As rota-men of politics, ²
 Straight cast about to over-reach
 Th' unwary conqu'ror with a fetch, 1110
 And make him glad at least to quit
 His victory, and fly the pit,
 Before the secular prince of darkness ³
 Arriv'd to seize upon his carcass :
 And, as a fox with hot pursuit, ⁴ 1115
 Chas'd through a warren, cast about

onometry, and made it public in a work printed at Edinburgh 1614: an instance of ingenuity which should never be mentioned without a tribute of praise. His lordship was one of the early members of the Royal Society before its incorporation, which the poet takes frequent occasions to banter.

¹ [Money frequently bore a cross on one side, and the head of a spear or arrow, pilum, on the other. *Cross* and *pile* were our heads and tails. "This I humbly conceive to be perfect boy's play; *cross*, I win, and "*pile*, you lose. Swift.]

² Mr. James Harrington, sometime in the service of Charles I. drew up and printed a form of popular government, after the king's death, entitled the Commonwealth of Oceana. He endeavoured likewise to promote his scheme by public discourses at a nightly club of several curious gentlemen, Henry Nevil, Charles Wolseley, John Wildman, Doctor (afterward sir William) Petty, who met in New Palace-yard, Westminster. Mr. Henry Nevil proposed to the house of commons, that a third part of its members should rote out by ballot every year, and be incapable of re-election for three years to come. This club was called the Rota. Swift, *Contests in Athens and Rome*, ch. v. p. 74. note.

³ The constable who governs and keeps the peace at night.

⁴ Olaus Magnus has related many such stories of the fox's cunning:

To save his credit, and among
 Dead vermin on a gallows hung.
 And while the dogs ran underneath,
 Escap'd, by counterfeiting death, 1120
 Not out of cunning, but a train
 Of atoms justling in his brain, ¹
 As learn'd philosophers give out ;
 So Sidrophello cast about,
 And fell to 's wonted trade again, 1125
 To feign himself in earnest slain : ²
 First stretch'd out one leg, then another,
 And, seeming in his breast to smother
 A broken sigh, quoth he, Where am I ?
 Alive, or dead ? or which way came I 1130
 Thro' so immense a space so soon ?
 But now I thought myself i' th' moon ;
 And that a monster with huge whiskers,
 More formidable than a Switzer's,
 My body thro' and thro' had drill'd, 1135
 And Whachum by my side had kill'd,
 Had cross-examin'd both our hose, ³
 And plunder'd all we had to lose ;

his imitating the barking of a dog ; feigning himself dead ; ridding himself of fleas, by going gradually into the water with a lock of wool in his mouth, and when the fleas are driven into it, leaving the wool in the water ; catching crab-fish with his tail, which the author avers for truth on his own knowledge. *Ol. Mag. Hist.* l. 18.

¹ The ancient atomic philosophers, Democritus, Epicurus, &c. held that sense in brutes, and cogitation and volition in men, were produced by impression of corporeal atoms on the brain. Cartesius allowed no sense nor cogitation to brutes. He supposed that sensitive principles were immaterial as well as rational ones, and therefore concluded that brutes could have no sense, unless their sensitive souls were immaterial and immortal substances. Antonius Magnus, another Frenchman, published a book near the Author's time, *De carentiâ sensûs et cognitionis in brutis*. But the author perhaps meant to ridicule sir Kenelm Digby, who relates this story of the fox, and maintains that there was no thought nor cunning, but merely a particular disposition of atoms.

² The reader may recollect the very humorous circumstances of Falstaff's counterfeited death. Shakspeare, *First Part of Henry IV.* Act v.

³ Trunk-hose with pockets to them.

Look, there he is, I see him now,
 And feel the place I am run thro' : 1140
 And there lies Whachum by my side,
 Stone-dead, and in his own blood dy'd.
 Oh! oh! with that he fetch'd a groan,
 And fell again into a swoon ;
 Shut both his eyes, and stopt his breath, 1145
 And to the life out-acted death,
 That Hudibras, to all appearing,
 Believ'd him to be dead as herring.
 He held it now no longer safe,
 To tarry the return of Ralph, 1150
 But rather leave him in the lurch : ¹
 Thought he, he has abus'd our church, ²
 Refus'd to give himself one firke,
 To carry on the public work ;
 Despis'd our synod-men like dirt, 1155
 And made their discipline his sport ;
 Divulg'd the secrets of their classes,
 And their conventions prov'd high places ; ³
 Disparag'd their tithe-pigs, as pagan,
 And set at nought their cheese and bacon ; 1160
 Rail'd at their covenant, ⁴ and jeer'd
 Their rev'rend parsons, to my beard ;
 For all which scandals, to be quit
 At once, this juncture falls out fit.

¹ The different sects of dissenters left each other in the lurch, whenever an opportunity offered of promoting a separate interest.

² This and the following lines have been produced by some as an argument to prove that the poem was enigmatical and figurative ; but it only proves that Hudibras represents the presbyterians, and Ralpho the independents.

³ That is, corruptions in discipline—rank popery and idolatry.

⁴ The Independents called the covenant an almanack out of date. Walker's History of Independency, append. to part 1. p. 2. Pulpit guarded with seventeen Arguments, &c., by T. Hall, 1651.

I'll make him henceforth, to beware, 1165
 And tempt my fury, if he dare :
 He must, at least, hold up his hand, ¹
 By twelve freeholders to be scann'd.
 Who, by their skill in palmistry, ²
 Will quickly read his destiny, 1170
 And make him glad to read his lesson,
 Or take a turn for't at the session : ³

¹ Culprits, when they are tried, hold up their hands at the bar.

² From palma. Alluding to the method of telling fortunes by inspection of lines in the palm of the hand.

³ That is, claim the benefit of clergy, or be hanged. Tom Nash, * a writer of *farces*—[there are but three dramatic works of his, *Dido* a tragedy, and two comedies]—in queen Elizabeth's reign, who died

* This Tom Nash should not be confounded with Thomas Nash, barrister, of the Inner Temple, who is buried in that church, and has the following inscription :

Depositum Thomæ Nash generosi honesta orti familia in agro Vigorniensis viri charitate humilitate eximii et mire mansueti Græce Latine Gallice et Italice apprime docti plurium (quos scripsit transtulit elucidavit edidit) librorum authoris jure amplectandi interioris templi annos circiter 30 repagularis non solidi minus quam synceri

Tho. Nash obiit 25°. Augusti 1648.

I have never seen any of his works, but am informed that the School of Potentates, translated from the Latin, with observations, in 8vo 1648, was his, and that he probably wrote the four-fold discourse in 4to 1632. [Watts (Bib. Brit) only assigns to him the authorship of "Quaternio; or a Fourfold Way to a Happy Life, set forth in a Dialogue between a Countryman and a Citizen, a Divine and a Surgeon." Lond. 1633. 4to.] He was a zealous royalist, contrary to the sentiments of his two brothers; the eldest a country gentleman in Worcestershire, of considerable estate, from whom the editor is descended, was very active in supporting the parliament cause, and the government by Cromwell. The younger brother commanded a troop of horse in the parliament service, was member of parliament for the city of Worcester, and an active justice of peace under the Protector: the family quarrel on political accounts, and which was carried on with the greatest animosity, and most earnest desire to ruin each other, together with the decline of the king's affairs, and particularly the execution of his person, so affected the spirits of Mr. Thomas Nash, that he determined not long to survive it. The editor hopes the reader will excuse this periautology and account of his great grand-father, and his two younger brothers:—he at this day feels the effects of their family quarrels and party zeal.

Unless his light and gifts prove truer
 Than ever yet they did, I'm sure ;
 For if he 'scape with whipping now, 1175
 'Tis more than he can hope to do :
 And that will disengage my conscience
 Of th' obligation, in his own sense :
 I'll make him now by force abide,
 What he by gentle means deny'd, 1180
 To give my honour satisfaction,
 And right the brethren in the action.
 This being resolv'd, with equal speed,
 And conduct, he approach'd his steed,
 And with activity unwont, 1185
 Essay'd the lofty beast to mount ;
 Which once atchiev'd, he spurr'd his palfry,
 To get from th' enemy and Ralph free ;

before the year 1606, is supposed by Dr. Farmer to satirize Shakspeare for want of learning, in the following words : " I leave," saith he " all these to the mercy of their mother-tongue, that feed on nought but the crumbs that fall from the translator's trencher, that could scarcely latinize *their neck verse*, if they should have neede." Dr. Lodge calls Nash our true English Aretine : and John Taylor, the water poet, makes an oath by " sweete satyriche Nash his urne : " his works, in three volumes quarto, were printed 1600, and purchased for the Royal Library, at an auction in Whitehall, about the year 1785, for thirty pounds.

[In the sale of Dr. Wright's Library in 1787, a collection (not an *edition*) of his works, consisting of twenty-one pieces of various dates, was sold for £ 12. 15. see Dibdin's *Bibliomania*, p. 534 ; but if it was bought for the King's Library there must be some error in the sale Catalogue in attributing all the Tracts to Nash, as there are but ten under his name in the Catalogue of the Royal Library.

As Dr. Nash has here indulged a natural vanity upon a subject more interesting to himself than to the reader of *Hudibras*, a somewhat similar indulgence, in this edition, may perhaps be pardoned when the incidental mention of the Royal Library occasions it. This truly regal library is now deposited in the British Museum. It was, *ab initio*, formed under the personal direction of His late Majesty George the third, by sir Frederick Barnard, his librarian, and Mr. George Nicol, his bookseller, and remains an honourable proof of the king's liberal pursuit and love of knowledge, and of the skilful industry of the men he so judiciously employed in its collection.]

Left danger, fears, and foes behind,
And beat, at least three lengths, the wind.¹ 1190

¹ ———volucremque fuga prævertitur Eurum.

———agente nimbos

Ocyor Euro.





AN HEROICAL EPISTLE
OF
HUDIBRAS TO SIDROPHEL.¹

Ecce iterum Crispinus.

WELL, Sidrophel, tho' 'tis in vain
To tamper with your crazy brain,

¹ This Epistle was not published till many years after the preceding canto, and has no relation to the character there described. Sidrophel in the poem, is a knavish fortune-teller, whose ignorance is compensated by a large share of cunning. In the Epistle he is ignorant indeed, but the defect is made up by conceitedness, assurance, and a solemn exterior. It should seem that Mr. Butler had received an affront or injury from some person of moderate abilities, who had obtained notwithstanding a respectable situation, and stood high in the opinion of the world : and that he addressed the offending party by the title of Sidrophel, be-

Without trepanning of your skull, ¹
 As often as the moon's at full,
 'Tis not amiss, ere ye're giv'n o'er, 5
 To try one desp'rate med'cine more ;
 For where your case can be no worse,
 The desp'rat'st is the wisest course.
 Is't possible that you, whose ears
 Are of the tribe of Issachar's, ² 10
 And might, with equal reason, either
 For merit, or extent of leather,
 With William Pryn's, ³ before they were
 Retrench'd, and crucify'd, compare,
 Shou'd yet be deaf against a noise 15
 So roaring as the public voice ?
 That speaks your virtues free and loud,
 And openly in ev'ry crowd,
 As loud as one that sings his part
 T' a wheel-barrow, or turnip-cart, 20
 Or your new nick-nam'd old invention
 To cry green-hastings with an engine ; ⁴

cause he had already applied this name to a vain pretender to science, and had already made it contemptible.

The style is serious, the remarks are pointed and severe ; and the author does not hold up the character here in his usual way, as an object of ridicule, but gravely upbraids the man as a credulous assuming liar, in a manner that more resembles the acrimony of Juvenal, than the delicacy of Horace.

I could wish that this Epistle had been consigned to oblivion, or else published in some other part of his works. But it has appeared so long in this place, that I have not thought myself at liberty to reject it.

¹ A chirurgical operation to remove part of the skull when it presses upon the brain. It is said to have restored the understanding, and was proposed as a remedy for the disorder with which Dean Swift was afflicted.

² Alluding to Genesis, xlix. 14: " Issachar is a strong ass, couching down between two burdens."

³ See Part III. Canto II. 841, and note.

⁴ Green-hastings was a well-known apple formerly, though not mentioned in Phillip's Cider : winter-hastings is a well known pear. Dust-men and news-carriers in London sound a trumpet or ring a bell, to avoid a continual exertion of the voice. May not this passage point at

As if the vehemence had stunn'd,
 And torn your drum-heads with the sound ; ¹
 And 'cause your folly's now no news, 25
 But overgrown, and out of use,
 Persuade yourself there's no such matter, ²
 But that 'tis vanish'd out of nature ;
 When folly, as it grows in years,
 The more extravagant appears ; 30
 For who but you could be possest
 With so much ignorance and beast,
 That neither all men's scorn and hate,
 Nor being laugh'd and pointed at,
 Nor bray'd so often in a mortar, ³ 35
 Can teach you wholesome sense and nurture,

the improvement of the speaking-trumpet newly invented by sir Samuel Morland?

[Hastings, from hasty. Peas that come early. See Todd's Johnson, where this passage is quoted. The London crier uses it only for peas.]

¹ Drum-heads, that is, the drum of your ears.

² i. e. is it possible that you should *persuade yourself*.

³ *Bray'd*, from the Saxon word *bracan*, to pound or grind.

"Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him." Prov. xxvii. 22. Anaxarchus was pounded in a mortar by order of Nicocreon, tyrant of Cyprus.

Aut ut Anaxarchus pilâ minuaris in altâ
 Jactaque pro solitis frugibus ossa sonent.

Ovid. in Ibin. 571.

Some of the primitive martyrs were ground in mills; as Victor of Marseilles under Maximian. "Martyrem toto mox corpore rotatu celeriter conterendum pistoriæ moli supponunt: Tunc electum Dei frumentum sine miseratione conteritur." Passio Victoris Massiliensis, apud Colomesii opera, p. 729. St. Ignatius, perhaps, alludes to this species of punishment in his Epistles to the Romans, ch. iv: *σῆτός εἰμι θεοῦ καὶ εἰ ὁδόντων ζηρίων ἀλήθομαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὑρεθῶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. Again *ἀλησμοὶ ὅλον τοῦ σώματος*. Ibid. And I have little doubt but the words *Ἀρταμων ἀλησμοί*, in Eunapius's Life of Maximus, p. 83, Genev. ed. which have given the critics so much trouble, relate to a similar act of cruelty.

Nurture here means breeding, or good manners. Thus Chaucer in his *Reves Tale*, line 3965:

What for hire kinrede, and hire nortelrie,
 That she had lerned in the nonnerie.

But, like a reprobate, what course
 Soever us'd, grow worse and worse ?
 Can no transfusion of the blood,
 That makes fools cattle, do you good ? ¹ 40
 Nor putting pigs to a bitch to nurse,
 To turn them into mongrel curs ; ²
 Put you into a way, at least,
 To make yourself a better beast ?
 Can all your critical intrigues, 45
 Of trying sound from rotten eggs ; ³
 Your sev'ral new-found remedies,
 Of curing wounds and scabs in trees ;
 Your arts of fluxing them for claps,
 And purging their infected saps ; 50
 Recovering shankers, crystallines,
 And nodes and blotches in their reins,

¹ In the last century several persons thought it worth their while to transfuse the blood of one living creature into the veins of another ; and, if we may believe their account, the operation had good effects. It has even been performed on human subjects. Dr. Mackenzie has described the process in his *History of Health*, p. 431. He seems to think that the transfusion of blood had not a fair trial, and that the experiments might have been pushed farther. Dr. Lower and others countenanced this practice. Sir Edmund King, a favourite of Charles II., was among the philosophers of his time, who made the famous experiment of transfusing the blood of one animal into another. See *Phil. Trans. abr.* iii. 224, and the additions and corrections to Pennant's *London*. His picture is in the College of Physicians. Shadwell ridicules this practise in his *Virtuoso*, where sir Nicholas Gimcrack relates some experiments of this transfusion and their effects. The lines from v. 39 to 59 allude to various projects of the first establishers of the Royal Society. See Birch's history of that body, vol. i. 303. vol. ii. 48, 50, 54. 115, 117, 123, 125, 161, 312. See also Ward's *Gresham Professors*, p. 101, 273. *That makes fools cattle*, i. e. more valuable at least than they were before ; or perhaps makes them greater fools than they were before.

² As a note on these lines, a curious story is told from Giraldus Cambrensis, of a sow that was suckled by a bitch, and acquired the sagacity of an hound or spaniel. See Butler's *Remains*, vol. i. p. 12.

³ On the first establishment of the Royal Society, some of the members engaged in the investigation of these and similar subjects. The Society was incorporated July 15, 1662.

Have no effect to operate
 Upon that duller block, your pate ?
 But still it must be lewdly bent 55
 To tempt your own due punishment ;
 And, like your whimsy'd chariots, ¹ draw
 The boys to course you without law ; ²
 As if the art you have so long
 Profess'd, of making old dogs young, ³ 60
 In you had virtue to renew
 Not only youth, but childhood too :
 Can you, that understand all books,
 By judging only with your looks,
 Resolve all problems with your face, 65
 As others do with B's and A's ;
 Unriddle all that mankind knows
 With solid bending of your brows ?
 All arts and sciences advance,
 With screwing of your countenance, 70
 And with a penetrating eye,
 Into th' abstrusest learning pry ;
 Know more of any trade b' a hint,
 Than those that have been bred up in't, ⁴

¹ I know not the scheme proposed by the Society, perhaps the chariot to go with legs instead of wheels, as mentioned before ; or perhaps they might hope to introduce the famous chariot of Stevinus, which was moved by sails, and carried twenty-eight passengers, among whom were prince Maurice, Buzanval, and Grotius, over the sands of Scheveling, fourteen Dutch miles in two hours, as Grotius himself affirms.

² That is, to follow you close at the heels : to give law among sportsmen is to let the creature that is to be hunted run a considerable way before the dogs are suffered to pursue.—See Remains.

³ See Butler's Genuine Remains, vol. ii. p. 188. His want of judgment inclines him naturally to the most extravagant undertakings, like that of "making old dogs young ; stopping up of words in bottles," &c.

⁴ Printing was invented by a soldier, gunpowder by a monk, and several branches of the clothing trade by a bishop : this is said agreeably to the vulgar notion concerning bishop Blaze, the patron saint of the wool-combers. But he obtained that honour, not on account of any improvements he made in the trade, but because he suffered martyrdom

And yet have no art, true or false, 75
 To help your own bad naturals ?
 But still the more you strive t' appear,
 Are found to be the wretcheder :
 For fools are known by looking wise,
 As men find woodcocks by their eyes. 80
 Hence 'tis because ye've gained o' th' college ¹
 A quarter share, at most, of knowledge,
 And brought in none, but spent repute,
 Y' assume a pow'r as absolute
 To judge, and censure, and controll, 85
 As if you were the sole sir Poll,
 And saucily pretend to know
 More than your dividend comes to :
 You'll find the thing will not be done
 With ignorance and face alone : 90
 No, tho' ye've purchas'd to your name,
 In history, so great a fame ; ²

by having his flesh torn by carding irons. See the Martyrology for the third of February.

¹ Though the Royal Society removed from Gresham college on account of the fire of London, it returned there again 1674, being the year in which this Epistle was published.

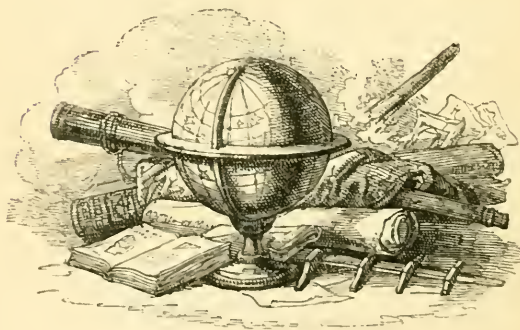
² I am inclined to think that the character of Sidrophel, in this Epistle, was designed rather for sir Paul Neile than for Lilly, or perhaps has some strokes at both of them, notwithstanding Dr. Grey's thinking that " these two lines plainly discover, that Lilly (and not sir Paul Neale) " was lashed under the name of Sidrophel; for Lilly's fame abroad " was indisputable." The poet seems to allude to sir Paul in the eighty-sixth line, as he had before done to sir Samuel Luke. Sir Paul had offended Mr. Butler by saying that he was not the author of Hudibras : or perhaps sir Poll here might allude to sir Politick Would-be, in Ben Jonson's Volpone. In history, some historians as well as travellers have been famous for telling wonderful lies or stories : or perhaps a glance might be here intended at Sprat's History of the Royal Society. Mr. Thyer, in Butler's Remains, says " he can assure the reader, upon " the poet's own authority, that the character of Sidrophel was intended " for a picture of sir Paul Neile, who was son of Richard Neile, (whose " father was a chandler in Westminster) who, as Anthony Wood says, " went through all degrees and orders in the church, school-master, curate, vicar, &c. &c. and at last was archbishop of York." Sir Paul was one of the first establishers of the Royal Society ; which society, in the dawn of science, listening to many things that appeared trifling and

That now your talent's so well-known,
 For having all belief out-grown,
 That ev'ry strange prodigious tale 95
 Is measur'd by your German scale, ¹
 By which the virtuosi try
 The magnitude of ev'ry lie,
 Cast up to what it does amount,
 And place the bigg'st to your account ; 100
 That all those stories that are laid
 Too truly to you, and those made,
 Are now still charg'd upon your score,
 And lesser authors nam'd no more.
 Alas ! that faculty betrays 105
 Those soonest it designs to raise ;
 And all your vain renown will spoil,
 As guns o'ercharg'd the more recoil ;
 Though he that has but impudence,
 To all things has a fair pretence ; 110
 And put among his wants but shame,
 To all the world may lay his claim :
 Tho' you have tried that nothing's borne
 With greater ease than public scorn,
 That all affronts do still give place 115
 To your impenetrable face ;
 That makes your way thro' all affairs,
 As pigs thro' hedges creep with theirs :
 Yet as 'tis counterfeit and brass,
 You must not think 'twill always pass ; 120

incredible to the generality of the people, became the butt and sport of the wits of the times. Browne Willis, in his Survey of York cathedral, says, that archbishop Neile left his son sir Paul Neile executor, whom, though he left rich (as he did his wife 300*l.* a year for her life), yet he soon run it out, without affording his father a grave-stone.

¹ All incredible stories are now measured by your standard. One German mile is equal to four miles English or Italian.

For all impostors, when they're known,
Are past their labour, and undone :
And all the best that can befall
An artificial natural,
Is that which madmen find, as soon 125
As once they're broke loose from the moon,
And proof against her influence,
Relapse to e'er so little sense,
To turn stark fools, and subjects fit
For sport of boys, and rabble-wit. 130



HUDIBRAS.

PART III. CANTO I.

ARGUMENT.

The Knight and Squire resolve at once,
The one the other to renounce ;
They both approach the Lady's bower,
The Squire t'inform, the Knight to woo her.
She treats them with a masquerade,
By furies and hobgoblins made ;
From which the Squire conveys the Knight,
And steals him from himself by night.



CANTO I.

'Tis true, no lover has that pow'r
T' enforce a desperate amour,
As he that has two strings to's bow,
And burns for love and money too ;
For then he's brave and resolute,
Disdains to render ¹ in his suit ;
Has all his flames and raptures double,
And hangs or drowns with half the trouble ;
While those who sillily pursue
The simple downright way, and true,
Make as unlucky applications,
And steer against the stream their passions.
Some forge their mistresses of stars,
And when the ladies prove averse,

5

10

¹ That is, surrender, or give up : from the French.

And more untoward to be won 15
 Than by Caligula the moon, ¹
 Cry out upon the stars for doing
 Ill offices, to cross their wooing,
 When only by themselves they're hindred,
 For trusting those they made her kindred, ² 20
 And still the harsher and hide-bounder,
 The damsels prove, become the fonder ;
 For what mad lover ever dy'd
 To gain a soft and gentle bride ?
 Or for a lady tender-hearted, 25
 In purling streams or hemp departed ?
 Leap'd headlong int' Elysium,
 Thro' th' windows of a dazzling room ? ³
 But for some cross ill-natur'd dame,
 The am'rous fly burnt in his flame. 30
 This to the Knight could be no news,
 With all mankind so much in use ;
 Who therefore took the wiser course,
 To make the most of his amours,
 Resolv'd to try all sorts of ways, 35
 As follows in due time and place.

¹ This was one of the extravagant follies of Caligula " Caius noctibus quidem plenam fulgentemque lunam invitabat assiduè in amplexus, atque concubitum." Suetonius, in vitâ C. Calig. sect. 22.

² The meaning is, that when men have flattered their mistresses extravagantly, and declared them to be possessed of accomplishments more than human ; they must not be surprised if they are treated in return with that distant reserve, which beings of a superior order may rightly exercise toward inferior dependent creatures : nor have they room for complaint, since the injury which they sustain is an effect of their own indiscretion.

³ Drowned themselves. Objects reflected by water appear nearly the same as when they are viewed through a window, or through the windows of a room so high from the ground that it dazzles one to look down from it. Thus Juvenal, Sat. vi. v. 31. *Altæ caligantesque fenestræ* : which Holyday translates, dazzling high windows. 'Πλατ' ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ τεύχεος εἰς Ἀΐδην. Callimachus, Ep. 29, Where Ἀΐδην does not mean hell, but the place of departed souls, comprehending both Elysium and Tartarus.

No sooner was the bloody fight
Between the wizard and the knight,
With all th' appurtenances over,
But he relaps'd again t' a lover ; 40
As he was always wont to do,
When he'ad discomfited a foe,
And us'd the only antique philters,
Deriv'd from old heroic tilters.¹
But now triumphant and victorious, 45
He held th' atchievement was too glorious
For such a conqueror to meddle
With petty constable or beadle ;
Or fly for refuge to the hostess
Of th' inns of court and chanc'ry, justice ; 50
Who might, perhaps, reduce his cause
To th' ordeal trial of the laws ;²
Where none escape, but such as branded,
With red-hot irons, have past bare-handed ;
And if they cannot read one verse 55
I' th' psalms, must sing it, and that's worse.³
He, therefore, judging it below him,
To tempt a shame the dev'l might owe him,
Resolv'd to leave the Squire for bail
And mainprize for him, to the jail. 60

¹ The heroes of romance endeavoured to conciliate the affections of their mistresses by the fame of their illustrious exploits. So was Desdemona won. Shakespeare's *Othello*, Act i.

"She lov'd me for the dangers I had past."

² *Ordeal* comes from the Anglo-Saxon, *ordal*, which also is derived from the Teutonic, and signifies judgment. The methods of trial by fire, water, or combat, were in use till the time of Henry III. and the right of exercising them was annexed to several lordships or manors. At this day, when a culprit is arraigned at the bar, and asked how he will be tried, he is directed to answer, "by God and my country," by the verdict or solemn opinion of a jury. "By God" only, would formerly have meant the ordeal, which referred the case immediately to the divine judgment.

³ When persons claimed the benefit of clergy, they were required to read a verse in the Bible, generally in the Psalms. It was usual too for the clergyman who attended an execution, to give out a psalm to be

To answer, with his vessel, ¹ all
 That might disastrously befall.
 He thought it now the fittest juncture
 To give the Lady a rencounter ;
 T' acquaint her with his expedition, 65
 And conquest o'er the fierce magician ;
 Describe the manner of the fray,
 And shew the spoils he brought away ;
 His bloody scourging aggravate,
 The number of the blows and weight : 70
 All which might probably succeed,
 And gain belief he 'ad done the deed :
 Which he resolv'd t' enforce, and spare
 No pawning of his soul to swear ;
 But, rather than produce his back, 75
 To set his conscience on the rack ;
 And, in pursuance of his urging
 Of articles perform'd, and scourging,
 And all things else, upon his part,
 Demand delivery of her heart, 80
 Her goods and chattels, and good graces,
 And person, up to his embraces.
 Thought he, the ancient errant knights
 Won all their ladies' hearts in fights,
 And cut whole giants into fitters, ² 85
 To put them into ani'rous twitters ;
 Whose stubborn bowels scorn'd to yield,
 Until their gallants were half kill'd ;

sung. So that the common people said, if they could not read their neck verse at sessions, they must sing it at the gallows.

¹ In this term the saints unwittingly concurred with the grave old philosophers, who termed the body *σκεῦος*.

² Some editions read *fritters* ; but the corrected one of 1678 has *fitters*, a phrase often used by romance writers, very frequently by the author of the *Romant of Romants*. Our author joins with Cervantes in burlesquing the subjects and style of romances. [*Fitters*, small fragments, from *fetta*, Ital. *fetzen*, Germ.]

But when their bones were drubb'd so sore,
 They durst not woo one combat more, 90
 The ladies' hearts began to melt,
 Subdu'd by blows their lovers felt.
 So Spanish heroes, with their lances,
 At once wound bulls and ladies' fancies; ¹
 And he acquires the noblest spouse 95
 That widows greatest herds of cows;
 Then what may I expect to do,
 Who 've quell'd so vast a buffalo?

Meanwhile the Squire was on his way,
 The Knight's late orders to obey; 100
 Who sent him for a strong detachment
 Of beaúles, constables, and watchmen,
 T' attack the cunning man for plunder
 Committed falsely on his lumber;
 When he, who had so lately sack'd 105
 The enemy, had done the fact,
 Had rifled all his pokes and fobs
 Of gimcracks, whims, and jiggumbobs,
 Which he by hook or crook had gather'd,
 And for his own inventions father'd: 110
 And when they should, at jail-delivery,
 Unriddle one another's thievery,
 Both might have evidence enough
 To render neither halter-proof. ²
 He thought it desparate to tarry, 115
 And venture to be accessory;

They look and see the stones, the words, and letters,
 All cut and mangled, in a thousand *filters*.

Harrington's *Ariosto*, xxiv. 40.]

¹ The bull-feasts at Madrid have been frequently described. The ladies take a zealous part at these combats.

² The mutual accusations of the knight and Sidrophel, if established, might hang both of them. *Halter-proof* is to be in no danger from an halter, as musket-proof in no danger from a musket: to render neither halter-proof is to render both in danger of being hanged.

But rather wisely slip his fetters,
 And leave them for the Knight, his betters.
 He call'd to mind th' unjust foul play
 He would have offer'd him that day, 120
 To make him curry his own hide,
 Which no beast ever did beside,
 Without all possible evasion,
 But of the riding dispensation : ¹
 And therefore, much about the hour 125
 The Knight, for reasons told before,
 Resolv'd to leave him to the fury
 Of justice, and an unpack'd jury,
 The Squire concurr'd to abandon him,
 And serve him in the self-same trim ; ² 130
 T' acquaint the Lady what h' had done,
 And what he meant to carry on ;
 What project 't was he went about,
 When Sidrophel and he fell out ;
 His firm and stedfast resolution, 135
 To swear her to an execution ; ³
 To pawn his inward ears to marry her, ⁴
 And bribe the devil himself to carry her.

¹ Ralpho considers that he should not have escaped the whipping intended for him by the knight, if their dispute had not been interrupted by the riding-shew, or skimmington.

² The author has long had an eye* to the selfishness and treachery of the leading parties, the presbyterians and independents.

A few lines below he speaks more plainly :

In which both dealt as if they meant
 Their party saints to represent,
 Who never fail'd upon their sharing,
 In any prosperous arms-bearing,
 To lay themselves out to supplant
 Each other cousin-german saint.

The reader will remember that Hudibras represents the presbyterians, and Ralpho the independents : this scene therefore alludes to the manner in which the latter supplanted the former in the civil war.

³ To swear he had undergone the stipulated whipping, and then demand the performance of her part of the bargain.

⁴ His honour and conscience, which might forfeit some of their immunities by perjury, as the outward ears do for the same crime in the sentence of the statute law.

In which both dealt, as if they meant
 Their party saints to represent, 140
 Who never fail'd, upon their sharing
 In any prosperous arms-bearing,
 To lay themselves out to supplant
 Each other cousin-german saint.
 But ere the Knight could do his part, 145
 The Squire had got so much the start,
 He 'ad to the lady done his errand,
 And told her all his tricks aforehand.

Just as he finish'd his report,
 The Knight alighted in the court, 150
 And having ty'd his beast t' a pale,
 And taking time for both to stale,
 He put his band and beard in order,
 The sprucer to accost and board her: ¹
 And now began t' approach the door, 155
 When she, wh' had spy'd him out before,
 Convey'd th' informer out of sight,
 And went to entertain the Knight :
 With whom encountering, after longees ²
 Of humble and submissive congees, 160
 And all due ceremonies paid,
 He strok'd his beard, and thus he said : ³

¹ Thus Polonius :

Away, I do beseech you, both away ;
 I'll board him presently.—O, give me leave.—
 How does my good lord Hamlet ?

² That is, after darting himself forward, as fencers do when they make a thrust.

³ Nec tamen ante adiit, et si properabat adire,
 Quam se composuit, quam circumspexit amictus,
 Et finxit vultum, et meruit formosa videri ;
 Tunc sic orsa loqui. Ovid. Metam. l. iv, l. 317.

[Thus Cleveland, in his poem on the Mixt Assembly, p. 43 :

That Isaac might go stroke his beard, and sit
 Judge of εἰσάκου and elegerit.

In sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia lib. iii. p. 349. " And now, being
 " come within compass of discerning her, he began to frame the loveli-
 " est countenance that he could ; stroking up his legs, setting up his
 " beard in due order, and standing bolt upright."

Madam, I do, as is my duty,
 Honour the shadow of your shoe-tie ; ¹
 And now am come, to bring your ear 165
 A present you'll be glad to hear ;
 At least I hope so : the thing's done,
 Or may I never see the sun ;
 For which I humbly now demand
 Performance at your gentle hand ; 170
 And that you'd please to do your part,
 As I have done mine to my smart.

With that he shrugg'd his sturdy back,
 As if he felt his shoulders ake :
 But she, who well enough knew what, 175
 Before he spoke, he'd would be at,
 Pretended not to apprehend
 The mystery of what he mean'd,
 And therefore wish'd him to expound
 His dark expressions less profound. 180

Madam, quoth he, I come to prove
 How much I've suffer'd for your love,
 Which, like your votary, to win,
 I have not spar'd my tatter'd skin ; ²
 And, for those meritorious lashes, 185
 To claim your favour and good graces.

Quoth she, I do remember once ³
 I freed you from th' enchanted sconce ; ⁴

¹ [Mr. Todd finds this rhyme used before by Crashaw, in his *Delights of the Muses*, published in 1646 :

I wish her beauty,
 That owes not all its duty,
 To gaudy tire, or glistening *shoe-ty*.]

² Roman catholics used to scourge themselves before the image of a favourite saint.

³ The lady here with affected drollery says *once*, as if the event had happened some time before, though in reality it was only the preceding day.

⁴ From the stocks.

And that you promis'd, for that favour,
 To bind your back to th' good behaviour, ¹ 190
 And for my sake and service, vow'd
 To lay upon 't a heavy load,
 And what 't would bear to a scruple prove,
 As other knights do oft make love.
 Which, whether you have done or no, 195
 Concerns yourself, not me, to know ;
 But if you have, I shall confess,
 Y' are honester than I could guess.

Quoth he, If you suspect my troth,
 I cannot prove it but by oath ; 200
 And, if you make a question on't,
 I'll pawn my soul that I have don't :
 And he that makes his soul his surety,
 I think does give the best security.

Quoth she, Some say the soul's secure 205
 Against distress and forfeiture ;
 Is free from action, and exempt
 From execution and contempt ;
 And to be summon'd to appear
 In th' other world 's illegal here, ² 210
 And therefore few make any account,
 Int' what incumbrances they run't :
 For most men carry things so even
 Between this world, and hell, and heaven,³

¹ It should seem a better reading would be, as in the later editions,
 To bind your *back to 'ts* good behaviour.

² Alluding to the famous story of Peter and John de Carvajal, who, being unjustly condemned for murder, and taken for execution, summoned the king, Ferdinand the Fourth of Spain, to appear before God's tribunal in thirty days. The king laughed at the summons ; but, though he remained apparently in good health on the day before, he died on the thirtieth day. Mariana says, there can be no doubt of the truth of this story.

³ That is, between this world and the next, or a future state. Men have dealings without any scruple in both at the same time ; that is, they are not so completely good as not to have some concern for this,

Without the least offence to either, 215
 They freely deal in all together,
 And equally abhor to quit
 This world for both, or both for it :
 And when they pawn and damn their souls,
 They are but pris'ners on paroles. 220

For that, quoth he, 'tis rational,
 They may be accountable in all : ¹
 For when there is that intercourse
 Between divine and human pow'rs,
 That all that we determine here 225
 Commands obedience ev'ry where ; ²
 When penalties may be commuted ³
 For fines, or ears, and executed,
 It follows, nothing binds so fast
 As souls in pawn and mortgage past : 230
 For oaths are th' only tests and scales
 Of right and wrong, and true and false ;
 And there's no other way to try
 The doubts of law and justice by.

Quoth she, What is it you would swear ? 235
 There's no believing 'till I hear :
 For, 'till they're understood, all tales,
 Like nonsense, are not true nor false.

Quoth he, When I resolv'd t'obey
 What you commanded th' other day, 240

nor yet so completely wicked as not to have some for the next : they have an equal abhorrence at the thoughts of quitting this world for the next, of forsaking their manner of living on account of their belief of a future state : or quitting the next world for this, that is, of forsaking their belief of a future state on account of their enjoyments of this world.

¹ That is, as to that, it stands to reason that men may be accountable in this world, and in the next.

² He seems at no loss for an application of a text in Scripture, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven."

³ The knight argues that, since temporal punishments may be mitigated and commuted, the best securities for truth and honesty are those expectations which affect man in his spiritual state.

And to perform my exercise,
 As schools are wont, for your fair eyes ;
 T' avoid all scruples in the case,
 I went to do't upon the place ;
 But as the castle is enchanted 245
 By Sidrophel the witch, and haunted
 With evil spirits, as you know,
 Who took my Squire and me for two, ¹
 Before I'd hardly time to lay
 My weapons by, and disarray, 250
 I heard a formidable noise,
 Loud as the Stentrophonic voice, ²
 That roar'd far off, Dispatch' and strip,
 I'm ready with th' infernal whip,
 That shall divest thy ribs of skin, 255
 To expiate thy ling'ring sin ;
 Thou 'ast broke perfidiously thy oath,
 And not perform'd thy plighted troth,
 But spar'd thy renegado back,
 Where ³ thou 'adst so great a prize at stake, 260
 Which now the fates have order'd me
 For penance and revenge, to flea,
 Unless thou presently make haste ;
 Time is, time was ; ⁴ and there it ceast.
 With which, tho' startl'd, I confess, 265
 Yet th' horror of the thing was less
 Than the other dismal apprehension
 Of interruption or prevention ;

¹ For two evil and delinquent spirits.

² Thus Homer, *Iliad*, v. 785.

Στέντορι εἰσαμένη μεγαλήτορι χαλκεφών ω.

And *Juv. Sat.* xiii. 112.

Tu miser exclamas, ut Stentora vincere possis.

The speaking trumpet was a little before the publication of this canto much improved by sir Samuel Morland, one of the first establishers of the Royal Society.

³ The later editions, perhaps with more propriety, read, *when thou 'adst*. But *where* in old authors means whereas.

⁴ This alludes to the well known story of the brazen head.

And therefore, snatching up the rod,
 I laid upon my back a load, 270
 Resolv'd to spare no flesh and blood,
 To make my word and honour good;
 Till tir'd, and taking truce at length,
 For new recruits of breath and strength,
 I felt the blows still ply'd as fast, 275
 As if they 'ad been by lovers plac'd,
 In raptures of Platonic lashing,
 And chaste contemplative bardashing:¹
 When facing hastily about,
 To stand upon my guard and scout, ² 280
 I found th' infernal cunning man,
 And th' under-witch, his Caliban, ³
 With scourges, like the furies, arm'd,
 That on my outward quarters storm'd.
 In haste I snatch'd my weapon up, 285
 And gave their hellish rage a stop;
 Call'd thrice upon your name, ⁴ and fell
 Courageously on Sidrophel,
 Who now transform'd himself t' a bear, ⁵
 Began to roar aloud, and tear; 290
 When I as furiously press'd on,
 My weapon down his throat to run,
 Laid hold on him; but he broke loose,
 And turn'd himself into a goose,

¹ The epithets chaste and contemplative are used ironically. See *Genuine Remains*, vol. i. 69. and vol. ii. 352. Dr. Bulwer, in his *Artificial Changeling*, p. 209, says, "the Turks call those that are young, and "have no beards, bardasses."

² Sir Samuel Luke was scout-master.

³ See Shakspeare's *Tempest*.

⁴ Bantering the romances where heroes frequently invoke their mistresses: *numero deus impari gaudet*. — Virg. *eclog.* viii.

⁵ Thus Ovid. *Metam.* lib. viii. 732:

Nam modo te juvenem, modo te vidēre leonem:
 Nunc violentus aper, nunc, quem tetigisse timerent,
 Anguis eras: modo te faciebant cornua taurum,
 Sæpe lapis poteras, arbor quoque sæpe videri.

When I as furiously. — Some editions read, perhaps better:

Div'd under water, in a pond, 295
 To hide himself from being found ;
 In vain I sought him ; but as soon
 As I perceiv'd him fled and gone,
 Prepar'd, with equal haste and rage,
 His under-sorc'rer to engage ; 300
 But bravely scorning to defile
 My sword with feeble blood, and vile,
 I judg'd it better from a quick-
 Set-hedge to cut a knotted stick,
 With which I furiously laid on ; 305
 Till, in a harsh and doleful tone,
 It roar'd, O hold, for pity, Sir,
 I am too great a sufferer, ¹
 Abus'd as you have been b'a witch,
 But conjur'd int' a worse caprich, ² 310
 Who sends me out on many a jaunt,
 Old houses in the night to haunt,
 For opportunities t' improve
 Designs of thievery or love ;
 With drugs convey'd in drink or meat, 315
 All feats of witches counterfeit ;
 Kill pigs and geese with powder'd glass,
 And make it for enchantment pass ;
 With cow-itch³ meazle like a leper,
 And choke with fumes of guinea pepper ; 320
 Make lechers, and their punks, with dewtry,
 Commit fantastical advowtry ;⁴

When as I furiously —

¹ *O for pity*, is a favourite expression of Spenser. Polydore, in Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 41. says :

Quid miserum, *Ænea*, laccras ? jam parce sepulto :

Parce pias scelerare manus.

² That is, whim, fancy, from the Italian, *capriccio*.

³ Cowage is a plant from the East Indies, the pod of which is covered with short hairs : if these hairs are applied to the skin, they cause an itching for a short time ; they are often used by young people to tease one another with.

⁴ *Dewtry*, or *datura*, is a plant, growing chiefly in the East Indies,

Bewitch hermetic men to run
 Stark staring mad with manicon ; ¹
 Believe mechanic virtuosi
 Can raise 'em mountains in Potosi ;

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whose seeds and flowers have an intoxicating quality. They who are skilled in the management of this drug, can, it is said, proportion the dose of it so as to suppress the senses for any particular number of hours. The Abyssinians likewise have an herb, called by the Caffres, banquini, and by the Portuguese, dutra, which, if taken in meat or drink, produces a stupor, and continues it for the space of twenty-four hours. See Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia, Dissertation on the Eastern Side of Africa, p. 226. Duncan gave wine, and bread steeped in the juice of this herb, (which some suppose to be the stramonium) to Iveno, king of Norway, and by the effect of it preserved the town of Bartha, in Scotland, from his attacks. Buchanan, Hist. Scot. lib. vii. Among the enquiries recommended by sir Robert Moray, and sent by the Royal Society to sir Philiberto Vernatti, resident at Batavia, are the following : "Whether the Indians can so prepare that stupifying herb datura, that they make it lie several days, months, years, according as they will have it, in a man's body, without doing him any hurt, and at the end kill him, without missing half an hour's time ? Whether those that be stupified by the juice of this herb, are recovered by moistening the soles of their feet in fair water ?" See Spratt's History of the Royal Society, p. 161. and 162. "Henr. Salmuthus Comm. in nova reperta Pancirolli, lib. i. tit. 1. Daturam appellat dutroam ; et ex floribus, ait, bulbi quendam speciem oriri, in quo nuclei sunt, melonum semini similes, qui cibo potionisque permixti utentis cerebrum pervadunt, ac stultitiam quendam cum risu continuo, absque alio sensu, aut ulla rerum notitia, excitent, tandemque somnum inducant. Addit ex Christopheri a Costa lib. de aromat. cap. de datura, Indorum Lusitanorumque uxores nucleos eos subinde ignaris maritis exhibere, ac deinde, ipsis spectantibus ac ridentibus, securè adulteris sui copiam facere : ex somno vero excitatos nullius rei meminisse, sed sopore tantum levi se correptos fuisse sibi imaginari." Henricus Meibomius de cerevisiis veterum. cap. 23. Meminit Garsias ab horto hist. plant. novi orbis, lib. ii. c. 24. floribus et seminibus herbæ quam daturam vocat, colorem roris marini æmulantis. Eum ait potuit ciboque injectum, et assumptum, homines mente quodammodo alienare, et in risum solvere, atque amentes veluti et ebrios facere. Gronov. Antiq. Græc. ix. p. 606.

Advoltry signifies the same with adultery. The word is used by lord Bacon, in his Life of Henry VII. "Maximilian duke of Burgundy spake all the evil he could devise of Charles the French king, saying, that he was the most perfidious man upon earth, and that he had made a marriage compounded between an *advoltry* and a rape."

The sense of the passage is, make lewd old fellows, that are past actual, commit, by means of dewtry, imaginary adultery.

¹ Alchymists, who pretend to things beyond the power of art. See a long character of the hermetic philosopher, full of wit and learning, Butler's Remains, vol. ii. p. 225. *Manicon* is an herb, so called from its power of causing madness. Banquo, in Shakspeare's Macbeth, seems to allude to it when he says :

And sillier than the antic fools,
 Take treasure for a heap of coals ; ¹
 Seek out for plants with signatures,
 To quack of universal cures ; ² 330
 With figures, ground on panes of glass,
 Make people on their heads to pass ; ³
 And mighty heaps of coin increase,
 Reflected from a single piece ;
 To draw in fools, whose nat'ral itches 335
 Incline perpetually to witches,

Were such things here, as we do speak about ?

Or have we eaten of the insane root,

That takes the reason prisoner ?

Act. i.

Meibomius de cervisiis, xxiii. 10. Est in eodem censu strychnon, sive manicum, sive halicacabum, quæ interdum confundunt auctores. De eo Theophrastus Hist. Plant. ix. 12. ait drachmæ pondere potum efficere *παίζειν τινὰ καὶ δοκεῖν ἑαυτῷ καλλίστον*. Plinius xxi. ex eo lusum gigni, speciesque vanas imaginesque conspicuas obversari, affirmat. Dioscorides iv. 72. ait eadem herba pota *φαντασίας ἀποτελεῖν οὐκ ἀηδεῖς*.

¹ The poet here ridicules the alchymists for pretending to the power of transmuting metals, or turning baser minerals into gold. In the mountains of Potosi are the rich mines belonging to the king of Spain.

The credulous disciples of these philosophers our author calls *antick fools*. Antic, antick, or antique, because the cheat began to be out of fashion when Mr. Butler wrote this part of his book—soon after the Restoration. Or perhaps by *antic fools* he might mean those silly dreamers, among the ancients, who gave occasion to the proverb, “pro thesauro carbones;” they dreamed of gold, but on examination found coals: it is frequently applied by Lucian. And Phædrus v. fab. vi. Ben Jonson uses the word antique in two senses.

The last line is not clearly expressed. If it had been written, “For ‘treasure take an heap of coals,’ or ‘Turn treasure to an heap of coals,’ the meaning would have been more obvious.

² Plants whose leaves resemble the form of some or other of the vitals, or have marks or figures upon them representing any cuticular affection, were thought to point out their own medicinal qualities. Thus wood-sorrel was used as a cordial, because its leaf is shaped like an heart. Liverwort was given for disorders of the liver. The herb dragon was employed to counteract the effects of poison, because its stem is speckled like some serpents. The yellow juice of the celandine recommended it for the cure of the jaundice. And Paracelsus said, that the spots which appear on the leaves of the *Persicaria maculosa*, proved its efficacy in the scurvy.

³ The multiplying glass, concave mirror, camera obscura, and other inventions, which were new in our author's time, passed with the vulgar for enchantments; and as the law against witches was then in force, the exhibitors of these curiosities were in some danger of being sentenced to Bridewell, the pillory, or the halter.

And keep me in continual fears,
 And danger of my neck and ears ;
 When less delinquents have been scourg'd,
 And hemp on wooden anvils forg'd, 340
 Which others for cravats have worn
 About their necks, and took a turn.

I pity'd the sad punishment
 The wretched caitiff underwent,
 And held my drubbing of his bones 345
 Too great an honour for poltroons ;
 For knights are bound to feel no blows
 From paltry and unequal foes,¹
 Who when they slash and cut to pieces,
 Do all with civillest addresses : 350
 Their horses never give a blow,
 But when they make a leg and bow.²
 I therefore spar'd his flesh, and prest him
 About the witch, with many a question.

Quoth he, For many years he drove 355
 A kind of broking-trade in love,³
 Employ'd in all th' intrigues and trust,
 Of feeble speculative lust ;
 Procurer to th' extravagancy,
 And crazy ribaldry of fancy, 360
 By those the devil had forsook,
 As things below him, to provoke ;
 But b'ing a virtuoso, able
 To smatter, quack, and cant, and dabble,
 He held his talent most adroit, 365
 For any mystical exploit,

¹ According to the rules of knight-errantry. See *Don Quixote* (book iii. ch. i.) and romances in general.

² i. e. the courteous knight never strikes his horse, but when he stumbles ; but Mr. T. B. gives it a different sense, and thinks it alludes to the action of a horse when the rider gives it a blow on the head ; ducking the head, and throwing out the leg, being not unlike an awkward bow.

³ He transacted the business of intrigues ; was a pimp.

As others of his tribe had done,
And rais'd their prices three to one ;
For one predicting pimp has th' odds
Of chaldrons of plain downright bawds. 370
But as an elf, the devil's valet,
Is not so slight a thing to get, ¹
For those that do his bus'ness best,
In hell are us'd the ruggedest ;
Before so meriting a person 375
Cou'd get a grant, but in reversion,
He serv'd two 'prenticeships, and longer,
I' th' myst'ry of a lady-monger.
For, as some write, a witch's ghost,
As soon as from the body loos'd, 380
Becomes a puisney-imp itself,
And is another witch's elf ;
He, after searching far and near,
At length found one in Lancashire,
With whom he bargain'd beforehand, 385
And, after hanging, entertain'd :
Since which he 'as play'd a thousand feats,
And practis'd all mechanic cheats :
Transform'd himself to th' ugly shapes
Of wolves and bears, baboons and apes, 390
Which he has vary'd more than witches,
Or Pharaoh's wizards cou'd their switches ; ²
And all with whom he 'as had to do,
Turn'd to as monstrous figures too ;
Witness myself, whom he 'as abus'd, 395
And to this beastly shape reduc'd,
By feeding me on beans and peas,
He crams in nasty crevices,

¹ William Lilly tells us he was fourteen years before he could get an elf or ghost of a departed witch. At last he found one in Lancashire ; a country always famous for witches. Thus Cleveland p. 76.

Have you not heard the abominable sport

A Lancashire grand jury will report.

² See Exodus vii.

And turns to comfits by his arts,
 To make me relish for deserts, 400
 And one by one, with shame and fear,
 Lick up the candy'd provender.
 Beside — But as h' was running on,
 To tell what other feats he'ad done,
 The lady stopt his full career, 405
 And told him, now 'twas time to hear.
 If half those things, said she, be true—
 They're all, quoth he, I swear by you.
 Why then, said she, that Sidrophel
 Has damn'd himself to th' pit of hell, 410
 Who, mounted on a broom, the nag
 And hackney of a Lapland hag,
 In quest of you came hither post,
 Within an hour, I'm sure, at most,
 Who told me all you swear and say, 415
 Quite contrary, another way ;
 Vow'd that you came to him, to know
 If you shou'd carry me or no ;
 And would have hir'd him and his imps,
 To be your match-makers and pimps, 420
 T' engage the devil on your side,
 And steal, like Proserpine, your bride ;
 But he, disdaining to embrace
 So filthy a design, and base,
 You fell to vapouring and huffing, 425
 And drew upon him like a ruffian ;
 Surpris'd him meanly, unprepar'd,
 Before he 'ad time to mount his guard,
 And left him dead upon the ground,
 With many a bruise and desperate wound ; 430
 Swore you had broke and robb'd his house,
 And stole his talismanique louse, ¹

¹ The poet intimates, that Sidrophel, being much plagued with lice had made a talisman, or formed a louse in a certain position of the stars, to chase away this kind of vermin.

And all his new-found old inventions,
With flat felonious intentions,
Which he could bring out, where he had, 435
And what he bought 'em for, and paid ;
His flea, his morpion, and punese,
He 'ad gotten for his proper ease, ¹
And all in perfect minutes made,
By th' ablest artists of the trade ; 440
Which, he could prove it, since he lost,
He has been eaten up almost,
And altogether, might amount
To many hundreds on account ;
For which he 'ad got sufficient warrant 445
To seize the malefactors errant,
Without capacity of bail,
But of a cart's or horse's tail ;
And did not doubt to bring the wretches
To serve for pendulums to watches, 450
Which, modern virtuosi say,
Incline to hanging every way. ²
Beside, he swore, and swore 'twas true,
That ere he went in quest of you,
He set a figure to discover 455
If you were fled to Rye or Dover ;
And found it clear, that to betray
Yourselves and me, you fled this way ;
And that he was upon pursuit,
To take you somewhere hereabout. 460
He vow'd he had intelligence
Of all that pass'd before and since ;
And found, that ere you came to him,
Y' had been engaging life and limb
About a case of tender conscience, 465
Where both abounded in your own sense ;

¹ The talisman of a flea, a louse, and a bug.

² The circular pendulums for watches were invented about our author's time by Dr. Hooke.

Till Ralpho, by his light and grace,
 Had clear'd all scruples in the case,
 And prov'd that you might swear, and own
 Whatever's by the wicked done : 470
 For which, most basely to requite
 The service of his gifts and light,
 You strove t' oblige him, by main force,
 To scourge his ribs instead of yours ;
 But that he stood upon his guard, 475
 And all your vapouring outdar'd ;
 For which, ¹ between you both, the feat
 Has never been perform'd as yet.

While thus the Lady talk'd, the Knight
 Turn'd th' outside of his eyes to white ; ² 480
 As men of inward light are wont
 To turn their optics in upon 't ;
 He wonder'd how she came to know
 What he had done, and meant to do ;
 Held up his affidavit hand, ³ 485
 As if he 'ad been to be arraign'd ;
 Cast tow'rds the door a ghastly look,
 In dread of Sidrophel, and spoke :

Madam, if but one word be true
 Of all the wizard has told you, 490
 Or but one single circumstance
 In all th' apocryphal romance ;

¹ That is, on which account.

² The dissenters are ridiculed for an affected sanctity, and turning up the whites of their eyes. Thus Ben Jonson :

——he is called for a puritan—

That used to turn up the eggs of his eyes.

And Fenton in his Poems :

Her eyes she disciplin'd percisely right,

And when to wink, and how to turn the white.

³ When any one takes an oath, he puts his right hand to the book, that is, to the New Testament, and kisses it ; but the covenanters, in swearing, refused to kiss the book, saying it was popish and superstitious : they substituted the ceremony of holding up the right hand, which

May dreadful earthquakes swallow down
 This vessel, that is all you own ; ¹
 Or may the heavens fall, and cover 495
 These relics of your constant lover. ²

You have provided well, quoth she,
 I thank you, for yourself and me,
 And shewn your presbyterian wits
 Jump punctual with the jesuits ; 500
 A most compendious way, and civil,
 At once to cheat the world, the devil,
 With heaven and hell, yourselves, and those
 On whom you vainly think t' impose.
 Why then, quoth he, may hell surprise — 505
 That trick, said she, will not pass twice :
 I've learn'd how far I'm to believe
 Your pinning oaths upon your sleeve ;
 But there's a better way of clearing
 What you would prove, than downright swearing :
 For if you have perform'd the feat,
 The blows are visible as yet,
 Enough to serve for satisfaction
 Of nicest scruples in the action ;
 And if you can produce those knobs, 515
 Altho' they're but the witch's drubs,
 I'll pass them all upon account,
 As if your nat'ral self had done 't ;
 Provided that they pass th' opinion
 Of able juries of old women, 520

they used also in taking any oath before the magistrate. The seceders in Scotland, who affect all the preciseness of the old covenanters, I believe still adhere to this practice.

¹ The knight has made all needful proficiency in the art of equivocation. This poor devoted vessel is—not the abject suitor, but—the lady herself.

² Here the knight still means the widow, but would have it under stood of himself.

Troas, reliquias Danaum atque inimitis Achillei.

Virg. Æn. i. 30.

Who, us'd to judge all matter of facts
For bellies,¹ may do so for backs.

Madam, quoth he, your love's a million,
To do is less than to be willing,
As I am, were it in my power, 525
T' obey what you command, and more ;
But for performing what you bid,
I thank you as much as if I did.
You know I ought to have a care
To keep my wounds from taking air ; 530
For wounds in those that are all heart,
Are dangerous in any part.

I find, quoth she, my goods and chattels
Are like to prove but mere drawn battles ;
For still the longer we contend, 535
We are but farther off the end.
But granting now we should agree,
What is it you expect from me ?

Your plighted faith, quoth he, and word
You pass'd in heaven, on record, 540
Where all contracts t' have and t' hold,
Are everlastingly enroll'd :
And if 'tis counted treason here
To raze records, 'tis much more there.

Quoth she, There are no bargains driv'n, 545
Nor marriages clapp'd up in heav'n ; ²
And that's the reason, as some guess,
There is no heav'n in marriages ;
Two things that naturally press ³
Too narrowly, to be at ease : 550
Their bus'ness there is only love,
Which marriage is not like t' improve ; ⁴

¹ When a woman pretends to be pregnant, in order to gain a respite from her sentence, the fact must be ascertained by a jury of matrons.

² The author alludes to Mark xii. 25 : " For when they shall arise from the dead, they neither marry nor are given in marriage."

³ That is, bargains and marriages.

⁴ Plurimus in cœlis amor est, connubia nulla :
Conjugia in terris plurima, nullus amor.

Love, that's too generous t' abide
 To be against its nature ty'd ;
 For where 'tis of itself inclin'd, 555
 It breaks loose when it is confin'd, ¹
 And like the soul, its harbourer,
 Debarr'd the freedom of the air,
 Disdains against its will to stay,
 But struggles out, and flies away : 560
 And therefore never can comply,
 T' endure the matrimonial tie,
 That binds the female and the male,
 Where th' one is but the other's bail ; ²
 Like Roman gaolers, when they slept, 565
 Chain'd to the prisoners they kept : ³
 Of which the true and faithfull'st lover
 Gives best security to suffer.
 Marriage is but a beast, some say, ⁴
 That carries double in foul way, 570
 And therefore 'tis not to be admir'd,
 It should so suddenly be tir'd ;
 A bargain, at a venture made,
 Between two partners in a trade :

¹ The widow's notions of love are similar to those of Eloise, so happily expressed by Pope :

Love, free as air, at sight of human ties,
 Spreads his light wings, and in a moment flies.

So Chaucer, in his *Frankleines Tale* :

Love wol not be constrained by maistrie :
 Whan maistrie cometh, the god of love anon
 Beteth his winges, and, farewell, he is gon.

Ælius Verus, according to *Spartian*, used to say, "*Uxor dignitatis nomen est, non voluptatis.*"

² That is, where if one of them is faulty, the other is drawn into difficulties by it, and the truest lover gives best security to suffer, or is likely to be the greatest sufferer.

³ The custom among the Romans was the same as among modern constables, to chain the right hand of the culprit to the left hand of the guard : *Modus est, ut is qui in noxa esset, catenam manui dextræ alligatam haberet, quæ eadem militis sinistram vinciret.*

⁴ Sir Thomas Brown, author of the *Vulgar Errors*, and *Religio Medici*, speaks of the ultimate act of love as a folly beneath a philosopher, and says, that he could be content that we might procreate like trees

For what's inferr'd by t' have and t' hold, 575
 But something pass'd away and sold ? ¹
 That, as it makes but one of two,
 Reduces all things else as low ;
 And at the best is but a mart
 Between the one and th' other part, 580
 That on the marriage day is paid,
 Or hour of death, the bet is laid ; ²
 And all the rest of better or worse,
 Both are but losers out of purse :
 For when upon their ungot heirs 585
 Th' entail themselves and all that's theirs,
 What blinder bargain e'er was driven,
 Or wager laid at six and seven ?
 To pass themselves away, and turn
 Their children's tenants ere they're born ? 590
 Beg one another idiot
 To guardians, ere they are begot ;

without conjunction. But, after writing this, he descended from his philosophic dignity, and married an agreeable woman :

The strong, the brave, the virtuous and the wise,
 Sink in the soft captivity together.

Addison's Cato.

¹ An equivocation. The words "to have and to hold," in the marriage ceremony, signify "I take to possess and keep;" in deeds of conveyance their meaning is, "I give to be possessed and kept by "another."

² (*The bet is laid*, in some editions.) The poet's allusions are sometimes obscure. Perhaps he means, that each party expects to find a satisfaction in marriage: and if they are a little disappointed when they come together, they will not fail to meet with it when they are separated. *Mart*, is marketing, or matter of purchase between the parties, who are only reimbursed the venture made, on the marriage day, or hour of death; and as to anything else in marriage both parties are losers, for they settle and give away their estates to ungot heirs; consigning themselves, like ideots and lunatics, to guardians and trustees. Mr. Butler generally pursues his subject as far as he can with propriety. But I do not know that we can justify the transition, in this speech, from a lively vindication of the generous nature of love, to a long detail of the abuses and evils of matrimony. He might wish for an opportunity of satirizing the vices of the times. Beside, we learn, that he had suffered some inconveniences himself from an unfortunate marriage.

Or ever shall, perhaps, by th' one
 Who's bound to vouch them for his own,
 Tho' got b' implicit generation, ¹ 595
 And general club of all the nation ;
 For which she's fortify'd no less
 Than all the island with four seas : ²
 Exacts the tribute of her power,
 In ready insolence and dower, 600
 And makes him pass away, to have
 And hold to her, himself, her slave,
 More wretched than an ancient villain, ³
 Condemn'd to drudgery and tilling ;
 While all he does upon the by, 605
 She is not bound to justify,
 Nor at her proper cost or charge
 Maintain the feats he does at large.
 Such hideous sots were those obedient
 Old vassals to their ladies regent, 610
 To give the cheats the eldest hand
 In foul play, by the laws o' th' land,
 For which so many a legal cuckold
 Has been run down in courts, and truckl'd :
 A law that most unjustly yokes 615
 All Johns of Stiles to Joans of Nokes, ⁴

¹ Dr. Johnson says, *implicit* signifies mixt, complicated, intricate, perplexed.

² The interpretation of the law was, that a child could not be deemed a bastard, if the husband had remained in the island, or within the four seas. See Butler's Remains, vol. i. p. 122.

³ The villains were a sort of slaves, bound to perform the meanest and most laborious offices. They were appendages to the land, and passed with it to any purchaser: as the lord was not answerable for any thing done by his villain tenant, no more is the wife for any thing done by her villain husband, though he is bound to justify and maintain all that his wife does by the bye. For which so many an injured husband has submitted to have his character run down in the courts, and suffer himself to be proved a cuckold on record, that he might recover damages from the adulterer.

⁴ The poet makes the latter a female: they are names given in law proceedings to indefinite persons, like Caius and Titius in the civil law.

Without distinction of degree,
 Condition, age, or quality ;
 Admits no pow'r of revocation,
 Nor valuable consideration, 620
 Nor writ of error, nor reverse
 Of judgment past, for better or worse ;
 Will not allow the priviledges
 That beggars challenge under hedges,
 Who, when they're griev'd, can make dead horses
 Their spiritual judges of divorces ;¹
 While nothing else but rem in re,
 Can set the proudest wretches free ;
 A slavery beyond enduring,
 But that 'tis of their own procuring.² 630
 As spiders never seek the fly,
 But leave him, of himself, t' apply ;
 So men are by themselves betray'd,
 To quit the freedom they enjoy'd,
 And run their necks into a noose, 635
 They'd break 'em after to break loose.
 As some, whom death would not depart,³
 Have done the feat themselves by art.
 Like Indian widows, gone to bed
 In flaming curtains to the dead ;⁴ 640

¹ The gipsies, it is said, are satisfied of the validity of such decisions.

² Because the statutes are framed by men :

Ζευχθεῖς γάμοισιν οὐκ ἐλεύθερός γ' ἔσῃ.

Νόμιζε γήμας δοῦλος εἶναι τῷ βίῳ.

Brunk. Poet. Gn. 224.

³ Alluding to several reviews of the common prayer before the last, where it stood, " til death us depart," and then altered, " til death us do part."

⁴ They burn themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands. " Mulieres vero in India, cum est cujusvis earum vir mortuus, in certamen judiciumque veniunt, quam plurimum ille dilexerit ; plures enim singulis solent esse nuptæ. Quæ est victrix, ea læta, prosequentibus suis, una cum viro in rogam imponitur." Cicero, Tusc. Disputat. v. 27. Strabo says, they were obliged to do so by law, because the women were wont to poison their husbands : and of later times, those women,

And men as often dangled for't,
 And yet will never leave the sport.
 Nor do the ladies want excuse
 For all the stratagems they use,
 To gain th' advantage of the set,¹ 645
 And lurch the amorous rook and cheat.
 For as the Pythagorean soul
 Runs thro' all beasts, and fish, and fowl,²
 And has a smack of ev'ry one,
 So love does, and has ever done; 650
 And therefore, though 'tis ne'er so fond,
 Takes strangely to the vagabond.
 'Tis but an ague that's reverst,
 Whose hot fit takes the patient first,
 That after burns with cold as much 655
 As iron in Greenland does the touch;³
 Melts in the furnace of desire,
 Like glass, that's but the ice of fire;
 And when his heat of fancy's over,
 Becomes as hard and frail a lover :⁴ 660

who by any means evade the performance of it, are accounted infamous for the rest of their lives. By the English law, women who murder their husbands are deemed guilty of petty treason, and condemned to be burnt. In India, when the husband dies, and his corpse burnt, his wives throw themselves into the funeral pile; and it is pretended they do it out of affection; but some think the custom was instituted to deter the wife from hastening the period of her husband's existence.

¹ *Set*, that is, game, a term at tennis.

² Pythagoras, according to Heraclides, used to say of himself, that he remembered not only what men, but what plants and what animals his soul had passed through. And Empedocles declared of himself, that he had been first a boy, then a girl, then a plant, then a bird, then a fish.

³ Metals, if applied to the flesh, in very cold climates, occasion extreme pain. Mr. Butler, in his MS. Common-place book, has quoted :

Ne tenuous pluviae, rapidive potentia solis

Acrior, aut Boreae penetrabile frigus adurat.

Virg. Georg. i. 92.

See Johnson on Psalm cxxi. 6, and his note. *That*, i. e. the patient.

⁴ That is, becomes a lover as hard and frail as glass: for he melts in the furnace of desire, but then it is like the melting of glass, which, when the heat is over, is but a kind of ice.

For when he's with love-powder laden,
 And prim'd and cock'd by Miss or Madam,
 The smallest sparkle of an eye
 Gives fire to his artillery,
 And off the loud oaths go, but, while 665
 They're in the very act, recoil :
 Hence 'tis so few dare take their chance
 Without a sep'rate maintenance ;
 And widows, who have try'd one lover,
 Trust none again 'till they 've made over ; ¹ 670
 Or if they do, before they marry,
 The foxes weigh the geese they carry ;
 And ere they venture o'er a stream,
 Know how to size themselves and them.
 Whence wittiest ladies always choose 675
 To undertake the heaviest goose :
 For now the world is grown so wary,
 That few of either sex dare marry,
 But rather trust, on tick, t' amours,
 The cross and pile for better or worse ; ² 680
 A mode that is held honourable,
 As well as French, and fashionable :
 For when it falls out for the best,
 Where both are incommoded least,
 In soul and body two unite, 685
 To make up one hermaphrodite,
 Still amorous, and fond, and billing,
 Like Philip and Mary on a shilling, ³

¹ Made over their property, in trust, to a third person for their sole and separate use.

² Whose tonge ne pill ne crouche maie hire. J. Gower.

Here it signifies a mere chance, toss up, heads or tails. This line constitutes a sentence, which is the accusative case after the verb trust ; in this sense, trust the chance for happiness or unhappiness to gallant-ries, for which they take one another's word.

³ On the shillings of Philip and Mary, coined 1555, the faces are placed opposite, and pretty near to each other.

They've more punctilios and capriches
 Between the petticoat and breeches, 690
 More petulant extravagances,
 Than poets make 'em in romances;
 Tho', when their heroes 'spouse the dames,
 We hear no more of charms and flames;
 For then their late attracts decline, 695
 And turn as eager as prick'd wine;
 And all their catterwauling tricks,
 In earnest to as jealous piques,
 Which th' ancients wisely signify'd
 By th' yellow mantos of the bride.¹ 700
 For jealousy is but a kind
 Of clap and grincam of the mind,²

¹ The bride, among the Romans, was brought home to her husband in a yellow veil, called *flammeum*. Thus Catullus, *lix.* 6:

Cinge tempora floribus
Suave-olentis anaraci:
Flammeum cape.

and Lucan, *ii.* 361:

Lutea demissos velârunt flammea vultus.

The widow intimates, that the yellow colour of the veil was an emblem of jealousy. The gall, which is of that colour, was considered as the seat of the evil passions. We learn from Plutarch's connubial precepts, that they who sacrificed to Juno did not consecrate the gall, but threw it beside the altar; signifying that gall or anger should never attend a marriage; but that the severity of a matron should be profitable and pleasant, like the roughness of wine, and not disagreeable and of a medicinal quality, like aloes.

² The later editions read *crincam*; either of them is a cant word, denoting an infectious disease, or whimsical affection, of the mind, applied commonly to love, lewdness, or jealousy. Thus, in the manors of East and West Enborne, in Berkshire, if the widow by incontinence forfeits her free bench, she may recover it again, by riding into the next manor court, backward, on a black ram, with his tail in her hand, and saying the following words:

Here I am, riding upon a black ram,
 Like a whore as I am:
 And for my crincum crancum,
 Have lost my bincum bancum.

Blount's *Fragmenta Antiquitat.* first ed. p. 144.

[Nares's Glossary affords the following perfectly explanatory passage: "You must know, Sir, in a nobleman 'tis abusive; no, in him the ser-pigo, in a knight the *grincomes*, in a gentleman the Neapolitan scabb,

The natural effects of love,
 As other flames and aches prove :
 But all the mischief is, the doubt 705
 On whose account they first broke out ;
 For tho' Chinese go to bed,
 And lie-in in their ladies' stead,¹
 And, for the pains they took before,
 Are nurs'd and pamper'd to do more ; 710
 Our green-men do it worse, when th' hap²
 To fall in labour of a clap ;
 Both lay the child to one another,
 But who's the father, who the mother,
 'Tis hard to say in multitudes, 715
 Or who imported the French goods.³

“ and in a serving man or artificer the plaine pox.” Jones’s *Adrasta*, 1635. C. 2.]

¹ In some countries, after the wife has recovered her lying-in, it has been the custom for the husband to go to bed, and be treated with the same care and tenderness. Apollonius Rhodius, II. 1013, says of the Tiberini in Pontus :

Τοῦσδε μέτ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα Γενηταίου Διὸς ἄκρην
 Γνάμψαντες, σώοντο παρὲξ Τιβαρηνίδα γαίαν.
 “Ἐνθ' ἐπεὶ ἄρ κε τέκωνται ὑπ' ἀνδράσι τέκνα γυναῖκες,
 Αὐτοὶ μὲν στενάχουσιν ἐνὶ λεχέεσσι πεσόντες,
 Κράατα δησάμενοι· ταὶ δ' εὖ κομέουσιν ἐδωδῇ
 Ἀνέρας, ἡδὲ λοετρὰ λεχώϊα τοῖσι πένονται.

And Valerius Flaccus, v. 148 :

Inde Genetæi rupem Jovis, hinc Tibarenum
 Dant virides post terga lacus ; ubi deside mitrâ
 Fœta ligat, partuque virum foveat ipsa soluto.

The history of mankind hath scarcely furnished any thing more unaccountable than the prevalence of this custom. We meet with it in ancient and modern times, in the old world and in the new, among nations who could never have had the least intercourse with each other. In Purchas’s *Pilgrim*, it is said to be practised among the Brasilians. At Haerlem, a cambrick cockade hung to the door, shews that the woman of the house is brought to bed, and that her husband claims a protection from arrests during the six weeks of his wife’s confinement. *Polnitz Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 396.

² Raw, inexperienced youths ; or else the beaux and coxcombs of those days, who might delight in green clothes : or perhaps he means a new married couple. Shakspeare, in *Hamlet*, (Act iv. sc. 5.) says :

And we have done but *greenly* to inter him.

³ Nicholas Monardes, a physician of Seville, who died 1577, tells us, that this disease was supposed to have been brought into Europe at

But health and sickness b'ing all one,
 Which both engag'd before to own, ¹
 And are not with their bodies bound
 To worship, only when they're sound, 720
 Both give and take their equal shares
 Of all they suffer by false wares ;
 A fate no lover can divert
 With all his caution, wit, and art :
 For 'tis in vain to think to guess 725
 At women by appearances,
 That paint and patch their imperfections
 Of intellectual complections,
 And daub their tempers o'er with washes
 As artificial as their faces ; 730
 Wear under vizard-masks their talents
 And mother-wits before their gallants :
 Until they're hamper'd in the noose,
 Too fast to dream of breaking loose ;
 When all the flaws they strove to hide 735
 Are made unready with the bride,
 That with her wedding-clothes undresses
 Her complaisance and gentilleses ;

the siege of Naples, from the West Indies, by some of Columbus's sailors who accompanied him to Naples on his return from his first voyage. When peace was there made between the French and Spaniards, the armies of both nations had free intercourse, and conversing with the same women, were infected by this disorder. The Spaniards thought they had received the contagion from the French, and the French maintained that it had been communicated to them by the Spaniards. Guicciardin, in the end of his second book, dates the origin of this distemper in Europe, at the year 1495. Dr. Gascoigne, as quoted by Anthony Wood, says he had known several persons who had died of it in his time. Naples was besieged in the reign of our Henry VII. and Dr. Gascoigne lived in the time of Richard II. and Henry VI. His will was proved in the year 1457. The account of Monardes is erroneous in many particulars. Indeed, after all the pains which have been taken by judicious writers, to prove that this disease was brought from America, or the West Indies, the fact is not sufficiently established. Perhaps it was generated in Guinea, or some other equinoctial part of Africa. Astruc, the best writer on this subject, says, it was brought from the West Indies, between the years 1494 and 1496.

¹ Alluding to the words of the marriage ceremony : so in the following lines,

Tries all her arts to take upon her
 The government, from th' easy owner ; 740
 Until the wretch is glad to wave
 His lawful right, and turn her slave ;
 Find all his having and his holding
 Reduc'd t' eternal noise and scolding ;
 The conjugal petard, that tears 745
 Down all portcullices of ears, ¹
 And makes the volley of one tongue
 For all their leathern shields too strong ;
 When only arm'd with noise and nails,
 The female silkworms ride the males, ² 750
 Transform 'em into rams and goats,
 Like syrens, with their charming notes ;
 Sweet as a screech-owl's serenade,
 Or those enchanting murmurs made
 By th' husband mandrake, and the wife, 755
 Both bury'd, like themselves, alive. ³
 Quoth he, These reasons are but strains
 Of wanton, over-heated brains,
 Which ralliers in their wit or drink
 Do rather wheedle with, than think. 760
 Man was not man in paradise,
 Until he was created twice,

— with their bodies bound

To *worship*.

¹ The poet humorously compares the noise and clamour of a scolding wife, which breaks the drum of her husband's ears, to the petard, or short cannon, beating down the gates of a castle.

² That is, the females, like silk worms, gaudy reptiles.

³ Ancient botanists entertained various conceits about this plant ; in its forked roots they discovered the shapes of men and women ; and the sound which proceeded from its strong fibres, when strained or torn from the ground, they took for the voice of an human being ; sometimes they imagined that they had distinctly heard their conversation. The poet takes the liberty of enlarging upon these hints, and represents the mandrake husband and wife quarrelling under ground ; a situation, he says, not more uncomfortable than that of a married pair continually at variance, since these, if not in fact, are virtually buried alive. In *Columella*, lib. x. we have, *semihomines mandragoræ flores*. The Hebrew word, in *Genesis*, may be disputed upon for ever. Benoit, the historian

And had his better half, his bride,
 Carv'd from th' original, his side, ¹
 T' amend his natural defects, 765
 And perfect his recruited sex ;
 Enlarge his breed, at once, and lessen
 The pains and labour of increasing,
 By changing them for other cares,
 As by his dry'd-up paps appears. 770
 His body, that stupendous frame,
 Of all the world the anagram, ²
 Is of two equal parts compact,
 In shape and symmetry exact,
 Of which the left and female side 775
 Is to the manly right a bride, ³
 Both join'd together with such art,
 That nothing else but death can part.
 Those heav'nly attracts of your's, your eyes,
 And face, that all the world surprise, 780

of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, thought it meant strawberries. *Chaufepié*, v. *Benoit*.

¹ Thus Cleveland :

Adam, 'til his rib was lost,
 Had the sexes thus engrost.
 When Providence our sire did cleave,
 And out of Adam carved Eve,
 Then did men 'bout wedlock treat,
 To make his body up complete.

² The world in a state of transposition. Man is often called the *microcosm*, or world in miniature. *Anagram* is a conceit from the letters of a name transposed; though perhaps with more propriety we might read *diagram*.

³ In the Symposium of Plato, Aristophanes, one of the dialogists, relates, that the human species, at its original formation, consisted not only of males and females, but of a third kind, composed of two entire beings of different sexes. This last rebelled against Jupiter; and for a punishment, or to render its attacks the less formidable in future, was completely divided. The strong propensity which inclines the separate parts to a reunion, is, according to the same fable, the origin of love. And since it is hardly possible that the dissevered moieties should stumble upon each other, after they have wandered about the earth, we may, upon the same hypothesis, account for the number of unhappy and disproportionate matches which men daily engage in, by saying that they mistake their proper halves.

That dazzle all that look upon ye,
 And scorch all other ladies tawny :
 Those ravishing and charming graces,
 Are all made up of two half faces
 That, in a mathematic line, 785
 Like those in other heav'ns, join ;¹
 Of which, if either grew alone,
 'Twould fright as much to look upon :
 And so would that sweet bud, your lip,
 Without the other's fellowship. 790
 Our noblest senses act by pairs,
 Two eyes to see, to hear two ears ;
 Th' intelligencers of the mind,
 To wait upon the soul design'd :
 But those that serve the body alone, 795
 Are single and confin'd to one.
 The world is but two parts, that meet
 And close at th' equinoctial fit ;
 And so are all the works of nature,
 Stamp'd with her signature on matter ; 800
 Which all her creatures, to a leaf,
 Or smallest blade of grass, receive.²
 All which sufficiently declare
 How entirely marriage is her care,
 The only method that she uses, 805
 In all the wonders she produces ;
 And those that take their rules from her
 Can never be deceiv'd, nor err :
 For what secures the civil life,
 But pawns of children, and a wife ?³ 810
 That lie, like hostages, at stake,
 To pay for all men undertake ;

¹ That is, that join insensibly in an imperceptible line, like the imaginary lines of mathematicians. *Other heavens*, that is, the real heavens.

² The sexual differences of plants.

³ Qui liberos genuit, obsides fortunæ dedit.

To whom it is as necessary,
 As to be born and breathe, to marry ;
 So universal, all mankind 815
 In nothing else is of one mind :
 For in what stupid age, or nation,
 Was marriage ever out of fashion ? ¹
 Unless among the Amazons,
 Or cloister'd friars and vestal nuns, ² 820
 Or stoics, who, to bar the freaks
 And loose excesses of the sex,
 Prepost'rously would have all women
 Turn'd up to all the world in common ; ³
 Tho' men would find such mortal feuds 825
 In sharing of their public goods,
 'Twould put them to more charge of lives,
 Than they're supply'd with now by wives ;
 Until they graze and wear their clothes,
 As beasts do, of their native growths : ⁴ 830
 For simple wearing of their horns
 Will not suffice to serve their turns.
 For what can we pretend t' inherit,
 Unless the marriage deed will bear it ?
 Could claim no right to lands or rents, 835
 But for our parents' settlements ;
 Had been but younger sons o' th' earth,
 Debarr'd it all, but for our birth. ⁵

¹ The general prevalence of matrimony, is a good argument for its use and continuance.

² The Amazons were women of Scythian extraction, settled in Capadocia, who, as Justin tells us, avoided marriage, accounting it no better than servitude. *Cloistered friars*, so termed by the poet, because they take a vow of celibacy like the vestals in ancient Rome. The poor vestal nuns must have a place in the catalogue.

³ Diogenes asserted, that marriage was nothing but an empty name. And Zeno, the father of the stoics, maintained that all women ought to be common, that no words were obscene, and no parts of the body needed to be covered.

⁴ i. e. such intercommunity of women would be productive of the worst consequences, unless mankind were already reduced to the most barbarous state of nature, and men become altogether brutes.

⁵ If there had been no matrimony, we should have had no provision

What honours, or estates of peers,
 Could be preserv'd but by their heirs ? 840
 And what security maintains
 Their right and title, but the bans ?
 What crowns could be hereditary,
 If greatest monarchs did not marry,
 And with their consorts consummate 845
 Their weightiest interests of state ?
 For all th' amours of princes are
 But guarantees of peace or war.
 Or what but marriage has a charm,
 The rage of empires to disarm ? 850
 Make blood and desolation cease,
 And fire and sword unite in peace,
 When all their fierce contests for forage
 Conclude in articles of marriage ?
 Nor does the genial bed provide 855
 Less for the int'rests of the bride,
 Who else had not the least pretence
 T^r as much as due benevolence ;
 Could no more title take upon her
 To virtue, quality, and honour, 860
 Than ladies errant unconfin'd,
 And femme-coverts to all mankind.
 All women would be of one piece,
 The virtuous matron, and the miss ;
 The nymphs of chaste Diana's train, 865
 The same with those in Lewkner's-lane, ¹
 But for the diff'rence marriage makes
 'Twixt wives and ladies of the lakes : ²

made for us by our forefathers ; but, like younger children of our primitive parent the earth, should have been excluded from every possession. He seems to reflect obliquely upon the common method of distributing the properties of families so much in favour of the elder branches, the younger sons not inheriting the land.

¹ A street in the neighbourhood of Drury-lane or St. Giles's, inhabited chiefly by strumpets.

² Alluding to the old romance of sir Lancelot and the Lady of the Lake. Mr. Warburton. But the corrected edition reads lakes in the

Besides, the joys of place and birth,
 The sex's paradise on earth, ¹ 870
 A privilege so sacred held,
 That none will to their mothers yield ;
 But rather than not go before,
 Abandon heaven at the door : ²
 And if th' indulgent law allows 875
 A greater freedom to the spouse,
 The reason is, because the wife
 Runs greater hazards of her life ;
 Is trusted with the form and matter
 Of all mankind, by careful nature, 880
 Where man brings nothing but the stuff
 She frames the wond'rous fabric of ; ³
 Who therefore, in a strait, may freely
 Demand the clergy of her belly, ⁴

plural number ; and perhaps we may look for these ladies elsewhere, in the lagunes of Venice, certain streets in Westminster, or Lambeth Marsh, Bankside, &c. &c. [*Lake*, to play ; from the gothick and Saxon, *laikan*. Used in the north of England. Todd.]

¹ Thus Mr. Pope:

For sylphs, yet mindful of their ancient race,
 Are, as when women, wond'rous fond of place.

Our poet though vindicating the ladies and the happy estate of matrimony, cannot help introducing this stroke of satire: Bastards have no place, or rank.

² That is, not go to church at all, if they have not their right of precedence. Chaucer says of the wife of Bath, 451 :

In all the parish wif ne was there non,
 That to the offering before hire shulde gon,
 And if ther did, certain so wroth was she,
 That she was out of alle charitee.

³ Various have been the attempts to explain the mystery of generation. Aristotle, Harvey, Lewenhoeck, Drake and Bartholine, have produced their different hypotheses. But from farther discoveries in anatomy, supported by the strictest analogy throughout the animal and vegetable kingdoms, it appears that the female furnishes the germ or ovum, which is only impregnated by the male: or, in the words of Mr. Hunter, the female produces a seed, in which is the matter fitted for the first arrangement of the organs of the animal, and which receives the principle of arrangement fitting it for action, from the male.

⁴ As benefit of clergy may be craved in some cases of felony: so pregnant women, who have received sentence of death, may demand or crave a respite from execution, till after they are delivered.

And make it save her the same way,
 It seldom misses to betray ; ¹ 885
 Unless both parties wisely enter
 Into the liturgy-indenture.
 And tho' some fits of small contest
 Sometimes fall out among the best, 890
 That is no more than ev'ry lover
 Does from his hackney lady suffer ;
 That makes no breach of faith and love,
 But rather, sometimes, serves t' improve ; ²
 For as, in running, ev'ry pace 895
 Is but between two legs a race,
 In which both do their uttermost
 To get before, and win the post ;
 Yet when they're at their race's ends,
 They're still as kind and constant friends, 900
 And, to relieve their weariness,
 By turns give one another ease ;
 So all those false alarms of strife
 Between the husband and the wife,
 And little quarrels often prove 905
 To be but new recruits of love ;
 When those who 're always kind or coy, ³
 In time must either tire or cloy.

¹ As their big bellies betray their incontinence, so they sometimes save their lives.

² Amantium iræ, amoris integratio est. Ter. And. iii. sc. iii. 23.
 In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia ; injuriæ,
 Suspiciones, inimicitia, induciæ,
 Bellum, pax rursum. Id. Eun. I. sc. i. 14.

³ *Coy* seems to be used in the French sense, for quiet or still. It has this signification both in Chaucer and Douglas. [A passage quoted by archdeacon Nares under the verb to *coy* will explain Butler's meaning.

And while she *coys* his sooty cheeks, and curls his sweaty top.

Warner's Alb. Engl. B. vi. p. 148.

And the following line from an old poem, "William and the Werewolf," may be interesting on a word that has been used in such opposite senses.

Nor are their loudest clamours more
Than as they're relish'd, sweet or sour ; 910
Like music, that proves bad or good,
According as 'tis understood.
In all amours a lover burns
With frowns, as well as smiles, by turns ;
And hearts have been as oft with sullen, 915
As charming looks, surpriz'd and stolen ;
Then why should more betwitching clamour
Some lovers not as much enamour ?
For discords make the sweetest airs,
And curses are a kind of pray'rs ; 920
Too slight alloys for all those grand
Felicities by marriage gain'd :
For nothing else has pow'r to settle
Th' interests of love perpetual ;
An act and deed that makes one heart 925
Become another's counter-part,
And passes fines on faith and love, ¹
Inroll'd and register'd above,
To seal the slippery knots of vows,
Which nothing else but death can loose. 930
And what security's too strong
To guard that gentle heart from wrong,
That to its friend is glad to pass
Itself away, and all it has,
And, like an anchorite, gives over 935
This world, for th' heav'n of a lover ? ²
I grant, quoth she, there are some few
Who take that course, and find it true ;

Acroyed it [a child] to come to him and clepud it oft.]

¹ That is, makes them irrevocable, and secures the title ; as passing a fine in law does a conveyance or settlement.

² Mr. Butler, I hope, has now made amends for his former incivility. In this speech the knight has defended the ladies, and the married state, with great gallantry, wit, and good sense.

But millions, whom the same does sentence
 To heav'n b' another way, repentance. 940
 Love's arrows are but shot at rovers,¹
 Tho' all they hit they turn to lovers,
 And all the weighty consequents
 Depend upon more blind events
 Than gamesters when they play a set, 945
 With greatest cunning, at piquet,
 Put out with caution, but take in
 They know not what, unsight, unseen.
 For what do lovers, when they're fast
 In one another's arms embrac'd, 950
 But strive to plunder, and convey
 Each other, like a prize, away ?²
 To change the property of selves,
 As sucking children are by elves ?
 And if they use their persons so, 955
 What will they to their fortunes do ?
 Their fortunes ! the perpetual aims
 Of all their extasies and flames.
 For when the money's on the book,
 And "all my worldly goods" — but spoke,³ 960
 The formal livery and seisin
 That puts a lover in possession ;
 To that alone the bridegroom's wedded,
 The bride a flam that's superseded ;
 To that their faith is still made good, 965
 And all the oaths to us they vow'd ;
 For when we once resign our pow'rs,
 We 've nothing left we can call ours :

¹ That is, shot at random, passim, temere.

² Quæ me surpuerat mihi. Hor. lib. iv. od. 13.

But such writers as Petronius best explain the spirit of this passage, were it fit to be explained. Transfudimus hinc et hinc labellis errantes animas.

³ Alluding to the form of marriage in the common prayer book. where the fee is directed to be put upon the book, and the bridegroom endows the bride with all his worldly goods.

Our money's now become the miss
Of all your lives and services ; 970
And we forsaken and postpon'd,
But bawds to what before we own'd ; ¹
Which, as it made y' at first gallant us,
So now hires others to supplant us,
Until 'tis all turn'd out of doors, 975
As we had been, for new amours.
For what did ever heiress yet,
By being born to lordships get ?
When the more lady she's of manors,
She's but expos'd to more trepanners, 980
Pays for their projects and designs,
And for her own destruction fines ;
And does but tempt them with her riches,
To use her as the dev'l does witches,
Who takes it for a special grace, 985
To be their cully for a space,
That, when the time's expir'd, the drazels ²
For ever may become his vassals :
So she, bewitch'd by rooks and spirits,
Betrays herself, and all sh' inherits ; 990
Is bought and sold, like stolen goods,
By pimps, and match-makers, and bawds ;
Until they force her to convey
And steal the thief himself away.
These are the everlasting fruits 995
Of all your passionate love-suits,
Th' effects of all your am'rous fancies,
To portions and inheritances ;

¹ That is, are procurers of the Miss, our money, which we before owned.

² The mean low wretches, or draggie-tails. *Drazels*, I believe means vagrants, from an old French word, draseler, a vagabond ; draser, the same as vaguer : the words signify the same in Dutch. Thus Warner, in his *Albion's England* :

Your love-sick raptures for fruition
 Of dowry, jointure, and tuition ; 1000
 To which you make address and courtship,
 And with your bodies strive to worship,
 That th' infant's fortunes may partake
 Of love too,¹ for the mother's sake.
 For these you play at purposes, 1005
 And love your loves with A's and B's ;
 For these, at Beste and l'Ombre woo,
 And play for love and money too ;²
 Strive who shall be the ablest man
 At right gallanting of a fan ; 1010
 And who the most genteelly bred
 At sucking of a vizard-bead ;³
 How best t' accost us in all quarters,
 T' our question and command new garters ;⁴
 And solidly discourse upon 1015
 All sorts of dresses pro and con :

Now does each drazel in her glass, when I was young I wot,
 On holydays (for seldom else) such idle time was got.

[*Draseler* is not to be found in Roquefort, Furetiere, nor Richelet, nor is it in the Dutch Dictionaries of Halma nor Winckelman ; but *dras*, in Dutch, is mud ; and as Grose explains *drazel*, a dirty slut, and gives the word to the Southern part of England, the Dutch language may have in this case enriched our vocabulary, and we need not go with Todd and Nares to *drotchell* and *drossel*.]

¹ That is the widow's children by a former husband, that are under age, to whom the lover would be glad to be guardian, as well as have the management of the jointure.

² The widow, in these and the following lines, gives no bad sketch of a person, who endeavours to retrieve his circumstances by marriage, and practises every method in his power to recommend himself to his rich mistress : he plays with her at questions and commands, endeavours to divert her with cards, puts himself in masquerade, flirts her fan, talks of flames and darts, aches and sufferings ; which last, the poet intimates, might more justly be attributed to other causes.

³ Masks were kept close to the face, by a bead fixed to the inside of them, and held in the mouth.

⁴ At the vulgar play of questions and commands, a forfeiture often was to take off a lady's garter : expecting this therefore the lady provided herself with new ones. Or she might be commanded to make the gentleman a present of a pair of new garters.

For there's no mystery nor trade,
But in the art of love is made ; ¹
And when you have more debts to pay
Than Michaelmas and Lady-day, ² 1020
And no way possible to do 't
But love and oaths, and restless suit,
To us y' apply, to pay the scores
Of all your cully'd past amours ;
Act o'er your flames and darts again, 1025
And charge us with your wounds and pain ;
Which other's influences long since
Have charm'd your noses with, and shins ;
For which the surgeon is unpaid,
And like to be, without our aid. 1030
Lord ! what an am'rous thing is want !
How debts and mortgages enchant !
What graces must that lady have,
That can from executions save !
What charms, that can reverse extent, 1035
And null decree and exigent !
What magical attracts, and graces,
That can redeem from scire facias ! ³
From bonds and statutes can discharge,
And from contempts of courts enlarge ! 1040
These are the highest excellencies
Of all your true or false pretences ;
And you would damn yourselves, and swear
As much t' an hostess dowager,
Grown fat and pursy by retail 1045
Of pots of beer and bottled ale,

¹ That is, made use of, or practised.

² These are the two principal rent days in the year : unpleasant days to the tenant, and not satisfactory to the landlord, when his debts exceed his rent.

³ Here the poet shews his knowledge of the law, and law terms, which he always uses with great propriety. *Execution* is obtaining possession of any thing recovered by judgment of law. *Extent*, the

And find her fitter for your turn,
 For fat is wondrous apt to burn ;
 Who at your flames would soon take fire,
 Relent, and melt to your desire, 1050
 And, like a candle in the socket,
 Dissolve her graces int' your pocket.

By this time 'twas grown dark and late,
 When th' heard a knocking at the gate,
 Laid on in haste, with such a powder, 1055
 The blows grew louder still and louder :
 Which Hudibras, as if they 'ad been
 Bestow'd as freely on his skin,
 Expounding by his inward light,
 Or rather more prophetic fright, 1060
 To be the wizard, come to search,
 And take him napping in the lurch,
 Turn'd pale as ashes, or a clout ;
 But why, or wherefore, is a doubt :
 For men will tremble, and turn paler, 1065
 With too much, or too little valour.
 His heart laid on, as if it try'd
 To force a passage through his side, ¹
 Impatient, as he vow'd, to wait 'em,
 But in a fury to fly at 'em ; 1070
 And therefore beat, and laid about,
 To find a cranny to creep out.
 But she, who saw in what a taking
 The Knight was by his furious quaking,
 Undaunted cry'd, Courage, sir Knight, 1075
 Know I'm resolv'd to break no rite

estimate of lands to their utmost value by the sheriff and jury, in order to satisfy a bond, or other engagement forfeited. *Exigent* is a writ requiring a person to appear ; it lies where the defendant in an action personal cannot be found, or any thing in the county, whereby he may be distrained. *Scire facias*, a writ to shew cause why execution of judgment should not go out.

¹ "Ἐκτορί τ' ἀντὶ θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι πάτασεν. Il. vii. 216.

Of hospitality t' a stranger ;
But, to secure you out of danger,
Will here myself stand sentinel,
To guard this pass 'gainst Sidrophel : 1080
Women, you know, do seldom fail
To make the stoutest men turn tail,
And bravely scorn to turn their backs,
Upon the desp'ratest attacks.
At this the Knight grew resolute, 1085
As Ironside, or Hardiknute ;¹
His fortitude began to rally,
And out he cry'd aloud, to sally ;
But she besought him to convey
His courage rather out o' th' way, 1090
And lodge in ambush on the floor,
Or fortify'd behind a door,
That, if the enemy should enter,
He might relieve her in th' adventure.

Meanwhile they knock'd against the door,
As fierce as at the gate before ;
Which made the renegado Knight
Relapse again t' his former fright.
He thought it desperate to stay
Till th' enemy had forc'd his way, 1100
But rather post himself, to serve
The lady for a fresh reserve.
His duty was not to dispute,
But what she 'ad order'd execute ;
Which he resolv'd in haste t' obey, 1105
And therefore stoutly march'd away,
And all h' encounter'd fell upon,
Tho' in the dark, and all alone :
Till fear, that braver feats performs
Than ever courage dar'd in arms, 1110

¹ Two princes celebrated for their valour in our histories. The former lived about the year 1016, the latter 1037.

Had drawn him up before a pass,
To stand upon his guard, and face ;
This he courageously invaded,
And, having enter'd, barricado'd ;
Ensconc'd himself as formidable 1115
As could be underneath a table ;
Where he lay down in ambush close,
T' expect th' arrival of his foes.
Few minutes he had lain perdue,
To guard his desp'rate avenue, 1120
Before he heard a dreadful shout,
As loud as putting to the rout,
With which impatiently alarm'd,
He fancy'd th' enemy had storm'd,
And after ent'ring, Sidrophel 1125
Was fall'n upon the guards pell mell ;
He therefore sent out all his senses
To bring him in intelligences,
Which vulgars, out of ignorance,
Mistake for falling in a trance ; 1130
But those that trade in geomancy,¹
Affirm to be the strength of fancy ;
In which the Lapland magi deal,
And things incredible reveal.
Meanwhile the foe beat up his quarters, 1135
And storm'd the outworks of his fortress ;
And as another of the same
Degree and party, in arms and fame,
That in the same cause had engag'd,
And war with equal conduct wag'd, 1140
By vent'ring only but to thrust
His head a span beyond his post,

¹ A sort of divination by clefts or chinks in the ground. Polydore Vergil de inventione rerum, supposes it to have been invented by the magi of Persia.

B' a gen'ral of the cavaliers
 Was dragg'd thro' a window by the ears : ¹
 So he was serv'd in his redoubt, 1145
 And by the other end pull'd out.

Soon as they had him at their mercy,
 They put him to the cudgel fiercely,
 As if they scorn'd to trade and barter, ²
 By giving, or by taking quarter : 1150
 They stoutly on his quarters laid,
 Until his scouts came in t' his aid : ³
 For when a man is past his sense,
 There's no way to reduce him thence,
 But twinging him by th' ears or nose, 1155
 Or laying on of heavy blows :
 And if that will not do the deed,
 To burning with hot irons proceed.

No sooner was he come t' himself,
 But on his neck a sturdy elf 1160
 Clapp'd in a trice his cloven hoof,
 And thus attack'd him with reproof :

Mortal, thou art betray'd to us
 B' our friend, thy evil genius,

¹ A right honourable gentleman of high character, * now living, assured me that this circumstance happened to one of his relations, sir Richard (Dr. Grey calls him sir Erasmus) Philips, of Picton castle, in Pembrokeshire. The Cavaliers, commanded by colonel Egerton, attacked this place, and demanded a parley. Sir Richard consented; and, being a little man, stepped upon a bench, and shewed himself at one of the windows. The colonel, who was high in stature, sat on horseback underneath; and pretending to be deaf, desired the other to come as near him as he could. Sir Richard then leaned a good deal from the window; when the colonel seized him by the ears, and drew him out. Soon after, the castle surrendered.

² Pyrrhus says to the Romans, from Ennius, in Tully's Offices :
 Nec mi aurum posco, nec mi pretium dederitis ;
 Nec cauponantes bellum, sed belligerantes,
 Ferro, non auro vitam cernamus utrique.

³ i. e. till his senses returned.

* Earl of Orford.

Who for thy horrid perjuries, 1165
 Thy breach of faith, and turning lies,
 The brethren's privilege, against
 The wicked, on themselves, the saints,
 Has here thy wretched carcass sent,
 For just revenge and punishment ; 1170
 Which thou hast now no way to lessen,
 But by an open, free confession : ¹
 For if we catch thee failing once,
 'Twill fall the heavier on thy bones.

What made thee venture to betray, 1175
 And filch the lady's heart away,
 To spirit her to matrimony ? —

That which contracts all matches, money.
 It was th' enchantment of her riches,
 'That made m' apply t' your crony witches ; ² 1180
 That in return would pay th' expence,
 The wear and tear of conscience, ³
 Which I could have patch'd up, and turn'd,
 For th' hundredth part of what I earn'd.

¹ This scene is imitated, but with much less wit and learning, in a poem called *Dunstable Downs*, falsely attributed to Mr. Samuel Butler. See the third volume of the *Remains*. In that poem, whoever was the author, the allusion to the high court of justice, and trial of Charles the first, is apposite. See Bradshaw's speech to the king :

This court is independent on
 All forms, and methods, but its own.
 And will not be directed by
 The persons they intend to try.
 And I must tell you, you're mistaken,
 If you propose to save your bacon,
 By pleading to your jurisdiction,
 Which will admit of no restriction.
 Here's no appeal, nor no demurrer,
 Nor after judgment writ of error.
 If you persist to quirk or quibble,
 And on your terms of law to nibble,
 The court's determin'd to proceed,
 Whether you do, or do not plead.

² Your old friends and companions.

³ The knight confesses, that he would have sacrificed his conscience to money. In reality, he had gotten rid of it long before.

Didst thou not love her then? Speak true.
No more, quoth he, than I love you.—
How would'st thou've us'd her, and her money?
First turn'd her up to alimony,¹
And laid her dowry out in law,
To null her jointure with a flaw, 1190
Which I beforehand had agreed
T' have put, on purpose, in the deed,
And bar her widow's-making-over
T' a friend in trust, or private lover.

What made thee pick and chuse her out 1195
T' employ their sorceries about? —

That which makes gamesters play with those
Who have least wit, and most to lose.

But didst thou scourge thy vessel thus,
As thou hast damn'd thyself to us? — 1200

I see you take me for an ass :
'Tis true, I thought the trick would pass,
Upon a woman, well enough,
As 't has been often found by proof,
Whose humours are not to be won 1205
But when they are impos'd upon;
For love approves of all they do
That stand for candidates, and woo.

Why didst thou forge those shameful lies
Of bears and witches in disguise? — 1210

That is no more than authors give
The rabble credit to believe;
A trick of following the leaders,
To entertain their gentle readers;
And we have now no other way 1215
Of passing all we do or say;

¹ To provide for herself, as horses do when they are turned to grass. The poet might possibly design a *jeu de mot*. *Alimony* is a separate maintenance paid by the husband to the wife, where she is not convicted of adultery.

Which, when 'tis natural and true,
 Will be believ'd b' a very few,
 Beside the danger of offence,
 The fatal enemy of sense. 1220

Why dost thou chuse that cursed sin,
 Hypocrisy, to set up in? —

Because it is the thriving'st calling,
 The only saints' bell that rings all in; ¹
 In which all churches are concern'd, 1225
 And is the easiest to be learn'd:

For no degrees, unless th' employ it,
 Can ever gain much, or enjoy it.
 A gift that is not only able
 To domineer among the rabble, 1230

But by the laws empower'd to rout,
 And awe the greatest that stand out;
 Which few hold forth against, for fear
 Their hands should slip, and come too near;
 For no sin else, among the saints, 1235
 Is taught so tenderly against.

What made thee break thy plighted vows? —
 That which makes others break a house,
 And hang, and scorn ² ye all, before
 Endure the plague of being poor. 1240

Quoth he, I see you have more tricks
 Than all your doating politics,
 That are grown old and out of fashion,
 Compar'd with your new reformation;
 That we must come to school to you, 1245
 To learn your more refin'd and new.

Quoth he, If you will give me leave
 To tell you what I now perceive,

¹ The small bell, which rings immediately before the minister begins the church service, is called the saints' bell; and when the clerk has rung this bell, he says, "he has rung all in."

² *Scorn*, that is, defy your law and punishment.

You'll find yourself an arrant chouse,
If y' were but at a meeting-house. 1250

'Tis true, quoth he, we ne'er come there,
Because w' have let 'em out by th' year.¹

Truly, quoth he, you can't imagine
What wond'rous things they will engage in;
That as your fellow fiends in hell 1255

Were angels all before they fell,
So are you like to be agen,
Compar'd with th' angels of us men.²

Quoth he, I am resolv'd to be
Thy scholar in this mystery; 1260
And therefore first desire to know
Some principles on which you go.

What makes a knave a child of God,³
And one of us? ⁴ — A livelihood.

What renders beating out of brains, 1265
And murder, godliness? — Great gains.

What's tender conscience? — 'Tis a botch
That will not bear the gentlest touch;

But, breaking out, dispatches more
Than th' epidemical⁵ plague-sore. 1270

¹ The devils are here looked upon as landlords of the meeting-houses, since the tenants of them were known to be so diabolical, and to hold them by no good title; but as it was uncertain how long these lawless times would last, the poet makes the devils let them only by the year: now when any thing is actually let, we landlords never come there, that is, have excluded ourselves from all right to the premises.

² I remember an old attorney, who told me, a little before his death, that he had been reckoned a very great rascal, and believed he was so, for he had done many roguish and infamous things in his profession: "but," adds he, "by what I can observe of the rising generation, the time may come, and you may live to see it, when I shall be accounted a very honest man, in comparison with those attorneys who are to succeed me."

³ A banter on the pamphlets in those days, under the name and form of catechisms: Heylin's Rebel's Catechism, Watson's Cavalier Catechism, Ram's Soldiers Catechism, Parker's Political Catechism, &c. &c.

⁴ Both presbyterians and independents were fond of saying *one of us*; that is, one of the holy brethren, the elect number, the godly party.

⁵ Alluding to the plague, of which, in our author's time, viz. in 1665, died 68,586 persons, within the bills of mortality.

What makes y' eneroach upon our trade,
And damn all others? — To be paid.

What's orthodox and true believing
Against a conscience? — A good living.¹

What makes rebelling against kings 1275
A good old cause? — Administ'rings.²

What makes all doctrines plain and clear? —
About two hundred pounds a year.

And that which was prov'd true before,
Prov'd false again? — Two hundred more. 1280

What makes the breaking of all oaths
A holy duty? — Food and clothes.

What laws and freedom, persecution? —
B'ing out of power, and contribution.

What makes a church a den of thieves? — 1285
A dean and chapter, and white sleeves.³

And what would serve, if those were gone,
To make it orthodox? — Our own.

What makes morality a crime,⁴
The most notorious of the time; 1290
Morality, which both the saints
And wicked too cry out against? —

'Cause grace and virtue are within
Prohibited degrees of kin;

¹ A committee was appointed November 11, 1646, to enquire into the value of all church-livings, in order to plant an able ministry, as was pretended; but, in truth, to discover the best and fattest benefices, that the champions for the cause might choose for themselves. Whereof some had three or four a-piece: a lack being pretended of competent pastors. When a living was small, the church doors were shut up. Dugdale's Short View. "I could name an assembly-man," says sir William Dugdale, "who being told by an eminent person, that a certain church had no incumbent, enquired the value of it; and receiving for answer that it was about £50. a year, he said, 'if it be no better worth, no godly man will accept it.'"

² — Administerings. See P. iii. c. ii. v. 55.

³ That is, a bishop who wears lawn sleeves.

⁴ Moral goodness was deemed a mean attainment, and much beneath the character of saints, who held grace and inspiration to be all meritorious, and virtue to have no merit; nay, some even thought virtue impious, when it is rooted only in nature, and not imputed; some of the modern sects are supposed to hold tenets not very unlike to this.



R. Cooper: sculp.

NICHOLAS MAJCHENKOVICH.

From the Russian. Engraven after a Picture by Bryazov.

And therefore no true saint allows 1295
They shall be suffer'd to espouse :
For saints can need no conscience,
That with morality dispense ;
As virtue's impious, when 'tis rooted
In nature only, and not imputed : 1300
But why the wicked should do so,
We neither know, nor care to do. ¹

What's liberty of conscience,
I' th' natural and genuine sense ? —
'Tis to restore, with more security, 1305
Rebellion to its ancient purity ;
And Christian liberty reduce
To th' elder practice of the Jews ;
For a large conscience is all one,
And signifies the same with none. ² 1310

It is enough, quoth he, for once,
And has repriev'd thy forfeit bones :
Nick Machiavel had ne'er a trick,
Tho' he gave his name to our old Nick, ³
But was below the least of these, 1315
That pass i' th' world, for holiness.

This said, the furies and the light
In th' instant vanish'd out of sight.
And left him in the dark alone,
With stinks of brimstone and his own. 1320

¹ The author shews his abhorrence of vice, in whatever party it was found, by satirizing the loose principles of the cavaliers.

² It is reported of Judge Jefferys, that taking a dislike to a witness who had a long beard, he told him that, "if his conscience was as long as his beard, he had a swinging one:" to which the countryman replied, "My lord, if you measure conscience by beards, you yourself have none at all."

³ Machiavel was recorder of Florence in the 16th century, an eminent historian, and consummate politician. In a note on the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and in Dr. Grey's edition of *Hudibras*, Mr. Warburton has altered this passage. He reads the last line :

The queen of night, whose large command
 Rules all the sea, and half the land,¹
 And over moist and crazy brains,
 In high spring-tides, at midnight reigns,²
 Was now declining to the west, 1325
 To go to bed and take her rest;³
 When Hudibras, whose stubborn blows
 Deny'd his bones that soft repose,⁴
 Lay still expecting worse and more,
 Stretch'd out at length upon the floor; 1330
 And tho' he shut his eyes as fast
 As if he 'ad been to sleep his last,

Though he gave *aim* to our old Nick.

But as all the editions published by the author himself, or in the author's life-time, have the word *name*, I am unwilling to change it. Mr. Butler, who seems well versed in the Saxon and northern etymologies, could not be ignorant, that the terms *nicka*, *nocca*, *nicken*, and from thence the English, *old nick*, were used to signify the devil, long before the time of Machiavel. A malignant spirit is named *old nicka*, in sir William Temple's Essay on Poetry. [*Necken*, dæmon aquaticus. Dan. *nicken*, *nocken*. Germ. *nicks*. L. B. *nocca*. Isl. *nikur*. Angl. *nick*. Belg. *necker*. Putatur in fluviis et lacubus residere, et nantes per pedes arreptos ad se pertrahere.—Ihre Gloss. Suiogothicum.] When Machiavel is represented as such a proficient in wickedness, that his name hath become no unworthy appellation for the devil himself, we are not less entertained by the smartness of the sentiment, than we should be, if it were firmly supported by the truth of history. In the second canto, Empedocles is said to have been acquainted with the writings of Alexander Ross, who did not live till about 2000 years after him. An humorous kind of wit, in which the droll genius of Butler does not scruple to indulge itself.

¹ The moon, which influences the tides and motions of the sea, and half mankind, who are lunatic, more or less.

Nunc terram potius quam mare luna regit.

Owen. Epig. 90.

The poem had now occupied two days, and almost two nights.

² Insane persons are supposed to be worst at the change and full of the moon, when the tides are highest.

³ He had before described the approach of day by the rising of the sun: he now employs the setting of the moon for that purpose.

⁴ Lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum.

At non infelix animi Phœnissa; neque unquam
 Solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem
 Accipit: ingeminant curæ. Æneid. iv. 528.

Saw all the shapes that fear or wizards,
 Do make the devil wear for vizards, ¹
 And pricking up his ears, to hark 1335
 If he could hear, too, in the dark,
 Was first invaded with a groan,
 And after, in a feeble tone,
 These trembling words: Unhappy wretch,
 What hast thou gotten by this fetch, 1340
 Or all thy tricks, in this new trade,
 Thy holy brotherhood o' th' blade? ²
 By sauntring still on some adventure,
 And growing to thy horse a centaur?
 To stuff thy skin with swelling knobs 1345
 Of cruel and hard-wooded drubs?
 For still thou'st had the worst on't yet,
 As well in conquest as defeat:
 Night is the sabbath of mankind,
 To rest the body and the mind, ³ 1350

¹ It may be amusing to compare this burlesque with the serious sublime of Milton. *Paradise Lost*, ii. 625.

— all monstrous, all prodigious things,
 Abominable, unutterable, and worse
 Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,
 Gorgons and hydras, and chimæras dire.

² This religious knight-errantry: this search after trifling offences, with intent to punish them as crying sins. Ralpho, who now supposed himself alone, see Part iii. canto iii. v. 89, vents his sorrows in this soliloquy, or expostulation, which is so artfully worded, as equally to suit his own case, and the knight's, and to censure the conduct of both. Hence the latter applies the whole as meant and directed to himself, and comments upon it accordingly to v. 1400, after which the squire improves on his master's mistake, and counterfeits the ghost in earnest. Compare Part iii. c. iii. v. 151-158. This seems to have been Butler's meaning, though not readily to be collected from his words: his readers are left in the dark almost as much as his heroes. Bishop Warburton supposes that the term *holy brotherhood* alludes to the society instituted in Spain, called *La Santa Hermandad*, employed in detecting and apprehending thieves and robbers, and executing other parts of the police. See them frequently mentioned in *Don Quixote*, *Gil Blas*, &c.

³ Plutarch thus addresses the superstitious person: "Heaven gave us sleep, as a relief and respite from our affliction. Why will you convert this gift into a painful instrument of torture: and a durable one too, since there is no other sleep for your soul to flee too. Hera-

Which now thou art deny'd to keep,
And cure thy labour'd corpse with sleep.

The Knight, who heard the words, explain'd
As meant to him this reprimand,
Because the character did hit 1355
Point-blank upon his case so fit;
Believ'd it was some drolling spright
That staid upon the guard that night,
And one of those he 'ad seen, and felt
The drubs he had so freely dealt; 1360
When, after a short pause and groan,
The doleful Spirit thus went on :

This 'tis t' engage with dogs and bears
Pellmell together by the ears,
And after painful bangs and knocks, 1365
To lie in limbo in the stocks,
And from the pinnacle of glory
Fall headlong into purgatory;
(Thought he, this devil's full of malice,
That on my late disasters rallies.) 1370
Condemn'd to whipping, but declin'd it,
By being more heroic-minded;
And at a riding handled worse,
With treats more slovenly and coarse; ¹
Engag'd with fiends in stubborn wars, 1375
And hot disputes with conjurers:
And, when thou 'adst bravely won the day,
Wast fain to steal thyself away.

I see, thought he, this shameless elf
Would fain steal me too from myself, 1380

"clitus says, that to men who are awake there is a common world;
"but every one who sleeps is in a world of his own. Yet not even in
"sleep is the superstitious man released from his troubles: his reason
"indeed slumbers, but his fears are ever awake, and he can neither
"escape from them, nor dislodge them." De Superstitione.

¹ This shews the meaning of the riding dispensation, l. 124.

That impudently dares to own
What I have suffer'd for and done ;
And now, but vent'ring to betray,
Hast met with vengeance the same way.

Thought he, how does the devil know 1385

What 'twas that I design'd to do ?

His office of intelligence,

His oracles, are ceas'd long since ;

And he knows nothing of the saints,

But what some treach'rous spy acquaints. 1390

'This is some pettifogging fiend,

Some under doorkeeper's friend's friend,

That undertakes to understand,

And juggles at the second-hand,

And now would pass for spirit Po, ¹ 1395

And all men's dark concerns foreknow.

I think I need not fear him for 't ;

These rallying devils do no hurt.

With that he rous'd his drooping heart,

And hastily cry'd out, What art ? — 1400

A wretch, quoth he, whom want of grace

Has brought to this unhappy place.

I do believe thee, quoth the Knight ;

Thus far I'm sure thou'rt in the right ;

And know what 'tis that troubles thee, 1405

Better than thou hast guess'd of me.

Thou art some paltry, blackguard spright,

Condemn'd to drudg'ry in the night ;

¹ Po, or Bo, the son of Odin, was a fierce Gothic captain, whose name was repeated by his soldiers to surprise or frighten their enemies. See Sir William Temple's fourth Essay. [Mr. Todd says, the northern Captain will suffer no great loss, if the etymology be transferred from his redoubted name to the Dutch *bauw*, a spectre ; but probably Minsheu gives the clue to this most grave etymology when, after a *bugge*, a bugbear, he says Belgic, Bietebauw, Beetebauw, a bijten, i. mordere et bauw, i. vox fictitia a sono quo solent infantes territare.]

Thou hast no work to do in th' house,
 Nor halfpenny to drop in shoes ; ¹ 1410
 Without the raising of which sum
 You dare not be so troublesome
 To pinch the slatterns black and blue,
 For leaving you their work to do.
 This is your bus'ness, good Pug-Robin, 1415
 And your diversion dull dry bobbing, ²
 T' entice fanatics in the dirt,
 And wash 'em clean in ditches for't ; ³

¹ Servant-maids were told, if they left the house clean when they went to bed, they would find money in their shoes ; if dirty, they would be pinched in their sleep. Thus the old ballad of Robin Goodfellow, who perhaps was the sprite meant by Pug Robin ;

When house or hearth doth sluttish lie,
 I pinch the maids both black and blue :
 And from the bed, the bed-cloths I
 Pull off, and lay them nak'd to view.

Again, speaking of fairies :

Such sort of creatures as would bast ye
 A kitchen wench, for being nasty :
 But if she neatly scour her pewter,
 Give her the money that is due to her.
 Every night before we goe,
 We drop a tester in her shoe.

See also Parnell and Shakspeare, in many places.

² Robin Goodfellow, in the creed of ancient superstition, was a kind of merry sprite, whose character and atchievements are frequently recorded, particularly in the well known lines of Milton. In an ancient ballad, entitled Robin Goodfellow :

From hag-bred Merlin's time have I
 Thus nightly revell'd to and fro,
 And for my pranks men call me by
 The name of Robin Goodfellow ;
 Fiends, ghosts, and sprites,
 Who haunt the nightes,
 The hags and goblins do me know,
 And beldames old
 My feates have told,
 So vale, vale, ho, ho, ho,

[*Puck, Pug, Pouke* ; a fiend. *Puke*, Diabolus. *Ihre Gloss. Suiogothicum.*]

Bobbing, that is, mocking, jesting with. *Dry bobbing*, a dry jest, or bob : *illusio, dieterium*.

³ See Hoffman's Lexicon, iii 305. sub voc. *Neptunus* (ex *Gervas Tilleberiens.*) *dæmonis quoddam genus, Angli Fortunos nominant. Fortunus nonnunquam invisus equitanti se copulat, et cum diutius comi*

Of which conceit you are so proud,
 At ev'ry jest you laugh aloud, 1420
 As now you would have done by me,
 But that I barr'd your raillery.

Sir, quoth the Voice, ye're no such sophy ¹
 As you would have the world judge of ye.
 If you design to weigh our talents 1425
 I' th' standard of your own false balance,
 Or think it possible to know
 Us ghosts, as well as we do you,
 We who have been the everlasting
 Companions of your drubs and basting, 1430
 And never left you in contest,
 With male or female, man or beast,
 But prov'd as true t' ye, and entire,
 In all adventures, as your Squire.

Quoth he, That may be said as true, 1435
 By th' idlest pug of all your crew ;
 For none could have betray'd us worse ;
 Than those allies of ours and yours. ²
 But I have sent him for a token
 To your low-country Hogen-Mogen, 1440
 To whose infernal shores I hope
 He'll swing like skippers in a rope :
 And if ye've been more just to me
 As I am apt to think, than he,
 I am afraid it is as true 1445
 What th' ill-affected say of you :
 Ye've 'spous'd the covenant and cause,
 By holding up your cloven paws. ³

tatur, eundem tandem loris arreptis equum in lutum ad manum ducit, in quo dum infixus volutatur, protinus exiens cachinnum facit, et sic hujus modi ludibrio humanam simplicitatem deridet.

¹ You are no such wise person, or sophister, from the Greek *σόφος*.

² Meaning the independents, or Ralpho, whom he says he had sent to the infernal Hogen Mogen, high and mighty, or the devil, supposing he would be hung.

³ When persons took the covenant, they attested their obligation to

Sir, quoth the Voice, 'tis true, I grant,¹
 We made, and took the covenant : 1450
 But that no more concerns the cause,
 Than other perj'ries do the laws,
 Which, when they're prov'd in open court,
 Wear wooden peccadillos for't :²
 And that's the reason cov'nanters 1455
 Hold³ up their hands, like rogues at bars.
 I see, quoth Hudibras, from whence
 These scandals of the saints commence,⁴
 That are but natural effects
 Of Satan's malice, and his sects', 1460
 Those spider-saints, that hang by threads
 Spun out o' th' entrails of their heads.
 Sir, quoth the Voice, that may as true⁵
 And properly be said of you,
 Whose talents may compare with either,⁶ 1465
 Or both the other put together :

observe its principles by lifting up their hands to heaven : the covenant here means the solemn league and covenant, framed by the Scots, and adopted by the English, ordered to be read in all churches, and every person was bound to give his consent, by holding up his hand at the reading of it. See Clarendon's History. South, in his fifth volume of Sermons, p. 74, says : "their very posture of taking the covenant was "an ominous mark of its intent, and their holding up their hands was "a sign that they were ready to strike." See line 485 of this canto. The solemn league and covenant has by many been compared to the holy league, entered into by a large party in France, in the reigns of Charles IX. Henry III. and Henry IV. See this parallel carried on by Dugdale, in his State of the Troubles in England, p. 600.

¹ Ralpho, the supposed sprite, allows that they, the devil and the independents, had engaged in the covenant ; but he insists that the violation of it was not at all prejudicial to the cause they had undertaken, and for which it was framed.

² A peccadillo was a stiff piece worn round the neck and shoulders, to pin the ruff or band to. Ludicrously it means the pillory.

³ In some editions we read *held* up.

⁴ The scandalous reflections on the saints, such as your charging the covenant with perjury, and making the covenanter no better than a rogue at the bar.

⁵ Hudibras having been hard upon Satan, and the independents, the voice undertakes the defence of each, but first of the independents.

⁶ That is, either with the independents, or with the devil.

For all the independents do,
Is only what you forc'd 'em to ;
You, who are not content alone
With tricks to put the devil down, 1470
But must have armies rais'd to back
The gospel-work you undertake ;
As if artillery and edge-tools,
Were th' only engines to save souls :
While he, ¹ poor devil, has no pow'r 1475
By force, to run down and devour ;
Has ne'er a classis, cannot sentence
To stools, or poundage of repentance ; ²
Is ty'd up only to design
T' entice, and tempt, and undermine : 1480
In which you all his arts outdo,
And prove yourselves his betters too.
Hence 'tis possessions do less evil
Than mere temptations of the devil, ³
Which, all the horrid'st actions done, 1485
Are charg'd in courts of law upon ; ⁴
Because, unless they ⁵ help the elf,
He can do little of himself ;
And, therefore, where he's best possest
Acts most against his interest ; 1490
Surprises none but those who 've priests
To turn him out, and exorcists,

¹ *He*, that is, the independent, has no power, having no classis, or spiritual jurisdiction.

² The poor devil, says Ralpho, cannot thus distress us by open and authorized vexations.

³ He argues that men who are influenced by the devil, and co-operate with him, commit greater wickedness than he is able to perpetrate by his own agency. We seldom hear, therefore, of his taking an entire possession. The persons who complain most of his doing so, are those who are well furnished with the means of exorcising and ejecting him, such as relics, crucifixes, beads, pictures, rosaries, &c.

⁴ Not having the fear of God before their eyes, but led by the instigation of the devil, is the form of indictment for felony, murder, or such atrocious crimes.

⁵ In some editions we read *you* help.

Supply'd with spiritual provision,
 And magazines of ammunition ;
 With crosses, relics, crucifixes, 1495
 Beads, pictures, rosaries, and pixes ;
 The tools of working our salvation
 By mere mechanic operation :
 With holy water, like a sluice,
 To overflow all avenues : 1500
 But those who're utterly unarm'd,
 T' oppose his entrance, if he storm'd,
 He never offers to surprise,
 Altho' his falsest enemies ; ¹
 But is content to be their drudge, 1505
 And on their errands glad to trudge :
 For where are all your forfeitures
 Intrusted in safe hands, but ours ?
 Who are but jailors of the holes
 And dungeons where you clap up souls ; ² 1510
 Like underkeepers, turn the keys,
 T' your mittimus anathemas,
 And never boggle to restore
 The members you deliver o'er
 Upon demand, with fairer justice, 1515
 Than all your covenanting trustees ; ³
 Unless, to punish them the worse,
 You put them in the secular powers,
 And pass their souls, as some demise
 The same estate in mortgage twice : 1520

¹ The enthusiasm of the independents was something new in its kind, not much allied to superstition.

² Keep those in hell whom you are pleased to send thither by excommunication, your mittimus or anathema : as jailors and turnkeys confine their prisoners.

³ More honestly than the presbyterians surrendered the estates which they held in trust for one another ; these trustees were generally covenanters. See Part i. c. i. v. 76, and P. iii. c. ii. v. 55.

When to a legal utlegation
 You turn your excommunication,¹
 And, for a groat unpaid that's due,
 Distrain on soul and body too.²

Thought he, 'tis no mean part of civil 1525
 State-prudence to cajole the devil,
 And not to handle him too rough,
 When he has us in his cloven hoof.

'Tis true, quoth he, that intercourse
 Has pass'd between your friends and ours, 1530
 That, as you trust us, in our way,
 To raise your members, and to lay,<³
 We send you others of our own,
 Denounc'd to hang themselves, or drown,⁴
 Or, frighted with our oratory, 1535
 To leap down headlong many a story ;
 Have us'd all means to propagate
 Your mighty interests of state,
 Laid out our sp'ritual gifts to further
 Your great designs of rage and murder : 1540
 For if the saints are nam'd from blood,
 We onl' have made that title good ;⁵
 And, if it were but in our power,
 We should not scruple to do more,
 And not be half a soul behind 1545
 Of all dissenters of mankind.

¹ You call down the vengeance of the civil magistrate upon them, and in this second instance pass over, that is, take no notice of their souls: the ecclesiastical courts can excommunicate, and then they apply to the civil court for an outlawry. *Utlegation*, that is, outlawry.

² Seize the party by a writ de excommunicato capiendo.

³ *Your friends and ours*, that is, you devils and us fanatics: that as you trust us in our way, to raise you devils when we want you, and to lay you again when we have done with you.

⁴ It is probable that the presbyterian doctrine of reprobation had driven some persons to suicide. So did alderman Hoyle, a member of the house. See Birkenhead's Paul's Church Yard.

⁵ Sanctus, from sanguis, blood.—We fanatics of this island only have merited that title by spilling much blood.

Right, quoth the Voice, and, as I scorn
 To be ungrateful, in return
 Of all those kind good offices,
 I'll free you out of this distress, 1550
 And set you down in safety, where
 It is no time to tell you here.
 The cock crows, and the morn draws on,
 When 'tis decreed I must be gone ;
 And if I leave you here till day, 1555
 You'll find it hard to get away.

With that the Spirit grop'd about
 To find th' enchanted hero out,
 And try'd with haste to lift him up,
 But found his forlorn hope, his crup, ¹ 1560
 Unserviceable with kicks and blows,
 Receiv'd from harden'd-hearted foes.
 He thought to drag him by the heels,
 Like Gresham-carts, with legs for wheels ; ²
 But fear, that soonest cures those sores, 1565
 In danger of relapse to worse,
 Came in t' assist him with its aid,
 And up his sinking vessel weigh'd.
 No sooner was he fit to trudge,
 But both made ready to dislodge ; 1570
 The Spirit hors'd him like a sack,
 Upon the vehicle his back,
 And bore him headlong into th' hall,
 With some few rubs against the wall ;

¹ His back is called his forlorn hope, because that was generally exposed to danger, to save the rest of his body : a reflection on his courage.

² Mr. Butler does not forget the Royal Society. March 4, 1662, a scheme of a cart with legs that moved, instead of wheels, was brought before the Royal Society, and referred to the consideration of Mr. Hooke. The inventor was Mr. Potter. Mr. Hooke was ordered to draw up a full description of this cart, which, together with the animadversions upon it, was to be entered in the books of the Society.

Where, finding out the postern lock'd, 1575
And th' avenues as strongly block'd,
H' attack'd the window, storm'd the glass,
And in a moment gain'd the pass ;
Thro' which he dragg'd the worsted soldier's
Four-quarters out by th' head and shoulders,
And cautiously began to scout
To find their fellow-cattle out ;
Nor was it half a minute's quest,
Ere he retriev'd the champion's beast,
Ty'd to a pale, instead of rack, 1585
But ne'er a saddle on his back,
Nor pistols at the saddle bow,
Convey'd away, the Lord knows how.
He thought it was no time to stay,
And let the night too steal away ; 1590
But, in a trice, advanc'd the Knight
Upon the bare ridge, bolt upright,
And, groping out for Ralpho's jade,
He found the saddle too was stray'd,
And in the place a lump of soap, 1595
On which he speedily leap'd up ;
And, turning to the gate the rein,
He kick'd and cudgell'd on amain ;
While Hudibras, with equal haste,
On both sides laid about as fast, 1600
And spurr'd, as jockies use, to break,
Or padders to secure, a neck : ¹
Where let us leave 'em for a time
And to their churches turn our rhyme ;

¹ Jockies endanger their necks by spurring their horses, and galloping very fast ; but highwamen, or padders, so called from the Saxon *paap* highway, endeavour to save their necks by the same exertions.

To hold forth their declining state,
Which now come near an even rate. ¹

1605

¹ The time now approached when the presbyterians and independents were to fall into equal disgrace, and resemble the doleful condition of the knight and squire.

The two last conversations have much unfolded the views of the confederate sects, and prepare the way for the business of the subsequent canto. Their differences will there be agitated by characters of higher consequence: and their mutual reproaches will again enable the poet to expose the knavery and hypocrisy of each. This was the principal intent of the work. The fable was considered by him only as the vehicle of his satire. And perhaps when he published the first Part, he had no more determined what was to follow in the second, than Tristram Shandy had on a like occasion. The fable itself, the bare outlines of which I conceive to be borrowed, *mutatis mutandis*, from Cervantes, seems here to be brought to a period. The next canto has the form of an episode. The last consists chiefly of two dialogues and two letters. Neither knight nor squire have any further adventures.

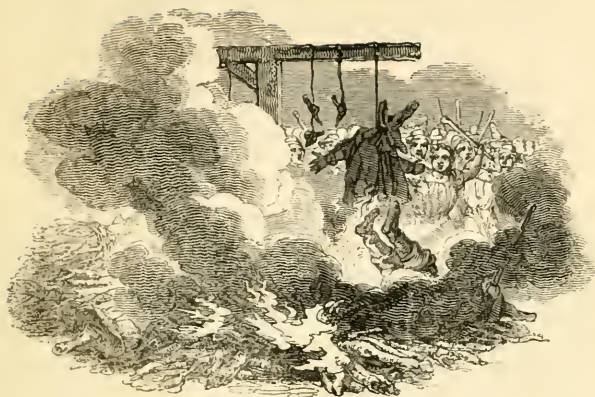


HUDIBRAS.

PART III. CANTO II.

ARGUMENT.

The Saints engage in fierce contests
About their carnal interests,
To share their sacrilegious preys
According to their rates of grace :
Their various frenzies to reform,
When Cromwell left them in a storm ;
Till, in th' effige of Rumps, the rabble
Burn all their grandees of the cabal.



CANTO II. ¹

THE learned write, an insect breese
Is but a mongrel prince of bees, ²

¹ The different completion of this canto from the others, and its unconnected state, may be accounted for, by supposing it written on the spur of the occasion, and with a politic view to recommend the author to his friends at court, by a new and fierce attack on the opposite faction, at a time when the real or pretended patriots were daily gaining ground, and the secret views of Charles II. were more and more suspected and dreaded. A short time before the third part of this poem was published, Shaftesbury had ceased to be a minister, and became a furious demagogue. But the canto describes the spirit of parties not long before the Restoration. One object of satire here is to refute, and ridicule the plea of the presbyterians after the Restoration, of having been the principal instruments in bringing back the king. Of this they made a great merit, in the reign of Charles II. and therefore Butler examines it v. 782, et seq.—v. 1023 et seq.—v. 1185-1189 et seq.

The discourses and disputations in this, and the following canto, are long, and fatigue the attention of many readers. If it had not been taking too great a liberty with an author who published his own works, I should certainly have placed this canto last, as it is totally unconnected with the story of the poem, and relates to a time long after the actions of the other cantos.

² What the learned, namely, Varro, Virgil, &c. write concerning bees being produced from the putrid bodies of cattle, is here applied by our

That falls before a storm on cows,
 And stings the founders of his house ; 5
 From whose corrupted flesh that breed
 Of vermin did at first proceed. ¹
 So, ere the storm of war broke out,
 Religion spawn'd a various rout ²
 Of petulant capricious sects,
 The maggots of corrupted texts, ³ 10

author to the breese, or gad bee, which is said, by the learned Pliny, in his Natural History, xi. 16, to be *apis grandior* quæ cæteras fugat : hence it may fairly be styled a prince of bees, yet, but a *mongrel* prince, because not strictly and properly a bee. Varro in Gesner's edition de Re Rustica, iii. 16. says, primum apes nascuntur partim ex apibus, partim ex bubulo corpore putrefacto. Itaque Archelaus in Epigrammate, ait, eas esse βοὺς φθιμένης πεποσήμενα τέκνα. Idem ἵππων μὲν σφῆκες γενεὰ, μόσχων δὲ μέλισσαι. The last line, with some variation, is in the Theriaca of Nicander. Columella ix. 14. says, the notion of generating bees from an heifer is as old as Democritus, and continued by Mago. Both Philetas and Callimachus called bees βουγενεῖς. See Hesych. Virgil. in his fourth Georgic, l. 281, says :

Sed si quem proles subito defecerit omnis,
 Nec, genus unde novæ stirpis revocetur, habebit ;
 Tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magistri
 Pandere, quoque modo cæsis jam sæpe juveneis
 Insincerus apes tulerit cruor.

For the effect the Oestron has on cattle, see Virg. Georg. iii. 146 et seq. "On the backs of cows," says Mr. Derham, "in the summer months, there are maggots generated, which in Essex we call weo-vils ; which are first only small knots in the skin, and, I suppose, no other than eggs laid there by some insect. By degrees these knots grow bigger, and contain in them a maggot, which may be squeezed out at a hole they have always open." Mr. Derham could never discover what animal they turn to. I doubt not but it is to this gad-fly or breese ; and that their stinging the cows is not only to suck their blood, but to perforate the skin for the sake of laying their eggs within it.

¹ They may proceed from the flesh of cows in the manner above mentioned, that is, as from the *place* in which they are bred, but not from the *matter* out of which they are generated. The note on this passage, in the old edition, together with many others, convince me that the annotations on the third part of Hudibras could not be written by Butler.

² No less than 180 errors and heresies were propagated in the city of London, as Mr. Case told the parliament, in his thanksgiving sermon, for the taking of Chester.

³ The independents were charged with altering a text of Scripture, (Acts vi. 3.) in order to authorize them to appoint their own ministers. "Therefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over

And yet no nat'ral tie of blood,
 Nor int'rest for the common good,
 Could, when their profits interfer'd,
 Get quarter for each other's beard : ¹
 For when they thriv'd they never fadg'd, ² 25
 But only by the ears engag'd ;
 Like dogs that snarl about a bone,
 And play together when they 've none ;
 As by their truest characters,
 Their constant actions, plainly appears. 30
 Rebellion now began, for lack
 Of zeal and plunder, to grow slack ;
 The cause and covenant to lessen,
 And providence to b' out of season :
 For now there was no more to purchase 35
 O' th' king's revenue, and the churches,
 But all divided, shar'd, and gone,
 That us'd to urge the brethren on ;
 Which forc'd the stubborn'st for the cause
 To cross the cudgels to the laws, ³ 40
 That what by breaking them they'ad gain'd
 By their support might be maintain'd ;
 Like thieves, that in a hemp-plot lie,
 Secur'd against the hue-and-cry. ⁴

Wolfii Memorabilia, is a quotation from Erasmus : " Si tu es diabolus, ego sum mater illius." And in the Agamemnon of Æschylus, Cassandra, after loading Clytemnestra with every opprobrious name she can think of, calls her *ἡ μάτηρ*. The translator of Hudibras into French, remarks in a note, that this passage alludes to some lines in the second book of Milton's Paradise Lost, in the description of Sin and Death.

¹ When the presbyterians prevailed, Calamy, being asked what he would do with the anabaptists, antinomians, and others, replied, that he would not meddle with their consciences, but only with their bodies and estates.

² That is, never agreed ; from the Teutonic, *fugen*. See Skinner. The same word is used v. 256,

³ Cudgels across one another denote a challenge: to cross the cudgels to the laws, is to offer to fight in defence of them.

⁴ It may mean a plat of growing hemp, which being a thick cover, a rogue may lie concealed therein, secure from all discovery of hue

For presbyter and independent 45
 Were now turn'd plaintiff and defendant,
 Laid out their apostolic functions
 On carnal orders and injunctions ;
 And all their precious gifts and graces
 On outlawries and scire facias ; 50
 At Michael's term had many a trial,
 Worse than the dragon and St. Michael,
 Where thousands fell, in shape of fees,
 Into the bottomless abyss.
 For when, like brethren, and like friends, 55
 They came to share their dividends, ¹
 And ev'ry partner to possess
 His church and state joint-purchases,
 In which the ablest saint, and best,
 Was nam'd in trust by all the rest, 60
 To pay their money, and instead
 Of ev'ry brother, pass the deed ;
 He strait converted all his gifts
 To pious frauds and holy shifts,
 And settled all the other shares ² 65
 Upon his outward man and 's heirs ;
 Held all they claim'd as forfeit lands
 Deliver'd up into his hands,
 And pass'd upon his conscience
 By pre-entail of Providence ; 70
 Impeach'd the rest for reprobates,
 That had no titles to estates,

and cry : " thus," says Butler in his Remains, vol. ii. p. 384, " he " shelters himself under the cover of the law, like a thief in a hemp-
 " plat, and makes that secure him, which was intended for his de-
 " struction."

¹ About the year 1649, when the estates of the king and Church were sold, great arrears were due to the army: for the discharge of which some of the lands were allotted, and whole regiments joined together in the manner of a corporation. The distribution afterwards was productive of many law-suits, the person whose name was put in trust often claiming the whole, or a larger share than he was entitled to.

² Perhaps a better reading would be, as in some editions, *others* shares.

But by their spiritual attaints
 Degraded from the right of saints.
 This b'ing reveal'd, they now begun 75
 With law and conscience to fall on,
 And laid about as hot and brain-sick
 As th' utter barrister of Swanswick ;¹
 Engag'd with money bags, as bold
 As men with sand-bags did of old, 80
 That brought the lawyers in more fees
 Than all unsanctify'd trustees ;³

¹ William Prynne, before mentioned, born at Swanswick, in Somersetshire, and barrister of Lincoln's Inn. The poet calls him hot and brainsick, because he was a restless and turbulent man. Whitelock calls him the busy Mr. Prynne, which title he gives him on occasion of his joining with one Walker in prosecuting colonel Fiennes, for the surrender of Bristol. Walker had been present at the siege, and had lost a good fortune by the surrender : but Prynne (he tells us) was no otherwise concerned than out of the pragmatism of his temper. There was an especial reason for his being called the *utter* barrister, for when he was censured by the court of Star-chamber, he was ordered (besides other punishments) to be discarded ; and afterwards he was voted again by the house of commons to be restored to his place, and practice as an *utter* barrister ; a term which signifies a pleader within the bar, but who is not king's counsel or serjeant.

² Bishop Warburton says : " when the combat was demanded in a legal way by knights and gentlemen, it was fought with sword and lance ; and when by yeomen, with sand-bags fastened to the end of " a truncheon : " see Shakespeare, the second part of Henry VI. " Pugiles sacculis non veritate pugilantes," made a part of the procession, when Gallienus celebrated the decennalia of his accession to the empire. (Treh. Pollio in Gallien. p. 178. ed. Paris, 1620.) Casaubon's note is, " Qui incruento pugilatu volebant dimicare, saccis non " cæstibus manus muniebant. Aiunt autem hi sacci vel tomento faret, " vel alia re pleni, quæ gravem ictum non redderent : puta, ficorûm " granis, vel farina, vel furfuribus : interdum et arenâ sacculos im- " plebant." Chrysostomus homiliâ 20 in Epistol. ad Hebræos, οὐκ ἄρῃς τοὺς ἀθλήτας πῶς θυλάκους ἄμμου πλήσαντες οὕτω γυμνάζονται. See the same thought repeated in Butler's *Genuine Remains*, vol. i. p. 83 and 379, and vol. ii. 316. Sand-bags in more modern history were really dangerous weapons ; they became instruments of the executioner. C'est une invention des Italiens pour tuer un homme sans repandre de sang, de la frapper rudement sur le dos avec des sachets remplis de sable. Les meurtrisseurs en sont incurables : la gangrene s'y met ; et la mort achève le meurtre. The Spaniards are said to have employed this mode of revenge to destroy Boccalini. (Melanges par Vigneul Marville, vol. i. p. 11.)

³ The lawyers got more fees from the presbyterians, or saints, who

Till he who had no more to show
 I' th' case, receiv'd the overthrow ;
 Or, both sides having had the worst, 85
 They parted as they met at first,
 Poor presbyter was now reduc'd,
 Secluded, and cashier'd, and chous'd ! ¹
 Turn'd out, and excommunicate
 From all affairs of church and state, 90
 Reform'd t' a reformado saint, ²
 And glad to turn itinerant,
 To stroll and teach from town to town,
 And those he had taught up, teach down, ³
 And make those uses serve agen ⁴ 95
 Against the new-enlighten'd men, ⁵
 As fit as when at first they were
 Reveal'd against the cavalier ;
 Damn anabaptist and fanatic,
 As pat as popish and prelatie ; 100
 And with as little variation,
 To serve for any sect i' th' nation.
 The good old cause, which some believe
 To be the dev'l that tempted Eve
 With knowledge, and does still invite 105
 The world to mischief with new light,

in general were trustees for the sequestered lands, than from all other trustees, who were unsanctified. See v. 59, 60.

¹ When Oliver Cromwell, with the army and the independents, had gotten the upper hand, they deprived the presbyterians of all power and authority ; and before the king was brought to his trial, the presbyterian members were excluded from the house.

² That is, to a volunteer without office, pay, or commission.

³ Poor presbyter, i. e. the presbyterians were glad to teach down the independents, whom as brethren and friends (v. 55) they had indiscriminately taught up ; the unhinging doctrines of the presbyterians having, in the long-run, hoisted up the independents in direct opposition to themselves.

⁴ The sermons of those times were divided into doctrine and use : and in the margin of them is often printed *use* the first, *use* the second, &c.

⁵ That is, against the independents.

Had store of money in her purse,
 When he took her for better or worse,
 But now was grown deform'd and poor,
 And fit to be turn'd out of door. 110

The independents, whose first station
 Was in the rear of reformation,
 A mongrel kind of church-dragoons,¹
 That serv'd for horse and foot at once,
 And in the saddle of one steed 115
 The Saracen and christian rid;²
 Were free of ev'ry spiritual order,
 To preach, and fight, and pray, and murder,³
 No sooner got the start, to lurch,⁴
 Both disciplines of war and church, 120
 And providence enough to run
 The chief commanders of them down,
 But carry'd on the war against
 The common enemy o' th' saints,
 And in a while prevail'd so far, 125
 To win of them the game of war,

¹ Many of the independent officers, such as Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, &c., used to pray and preach publicly, and many hours together. The sermon printed under the name of Oliver Cromwell is well known to be a forgery. See Granger, Art. Oliver Cromwell.

² Mr. Walker, in his *History of Independency*, says, "the independents were a composition of Jew, Christian, and Turk."

³ *To preach*, has a reference to the Dominicans; to *fight*, to the knights of Malta; to *pray*, to the fathers of the Oratory; to *murther*, to the Jesuits: of the latter, Oldham, Sat. i. speaks as

In each profounder art of killing bred:
 and in Sat iii.

Slight of murder of the subtlest shape.

But the independents assumed to themselves the privilege of every order: they preached, they fought, they prayed, they murdered. Sir Roger L'Estrange says, in the reflection on one of his fables, that the independents did not take one step in the whole track of their iniquity, without *seeking* the Lord first, and going up to enquire of the Lord first, according to the cant of those days. For further account of the independents, see Walker's *History*: the first part of which was published 1648, the second in 1649, and the third written in the Tower, where he was sent by Cromwell for writing it, 1651.

⁴ That is, to swallow up, to obtain fraudulently. See Skinner and Junius.

And be at liberty once more
T' attack themselves as they'ad before.
For now there was no foe in arms
T' unite their factions with alarms, 130
But all reduc'd and overcome,
Except their worst, themselves at home,
Who, 'ad compass'd all th' pray'd and swore,
And fought, and preach'd, and plunder'd for,
Subdu'd the nation, church and state, 135
And all things but their laws and hate; ¹
But when they came to treat and transact,
And share the spoil of all they 'ad ransackt,
To botch up what they 'ad torn and rent,
Religion and the government, 140
They meet no sooner, but prepar'd,
To pull down all the war had spar'd;
Agreed in nothing, but t' abolish,
Subvert, extirpate, and demolish:
For knaves and fools b'ing near of kin, 145
As Dutch boors are t' a sooterkin, ²
Both parties join'd to do their best
To damn the public interest,
And herded only in consults, ³
To put by one another's bolts; 150
T' outcant the Babylonian labourers,
At all their dialects of jabberers,
And tug at both ends of the saw,
To tear down government and law.
For as two cheats, that play one game, 155
Are both defeated of their aim; ⁴

¹ That is, the laws of the land, and hatred of the people.

² A reflection upon the Dutch women, for their use of hand-stoves, which they frequently put under their petticoats, and from whence they are said to produce sooterkins with their children. Mr. James Howel in his letters calls it a Zucchie, and says "it is likest a bat of any creature." But Cleveland, p. 103, says, "not unlike to a rat."

³ That is, both parties were intimately united together.

⁴ For as when two cheats, equally masters of the very same tricks,

So those who play a game of state,¹
 And only cavil in debate,
 Altho' there's nothing lost nor won,
 The public bus'ness is undone, 160
 Which still the longer 'tis in doing,
 Becomes the surer way to ruin.

This when the royalists perceiv'd,²
 Who to their faith as firmly cleav'd,
 And own'd the right they had paid down 165
 So dearly for, the church and crown,
 Th' united constanter, and sided
 The more, the more their foes divided :
 For tho' outnumber'd, overthrown,
 And by the fate of war run down, 170
 Their duty never was defeated,
 Nor from their oaths and faith retreated ;
 For loyalty is still the same,
 Whether it win or lose the game ;
 True as the dial to the sun, 175
 Altho' it be not shin'd upon.³
 But when these bretheren⁴ in evil,
 Their adversaries, and the devil,
 Began once more to shew them play,
 And hopes, at least, to have a day, 180

are both by that circumstance defeated of their aim, namely to impose upon each other, so those well matched tricksters, who play with state affairs, and by only cavilling at one another's schemes, are ever counteracting each other.

¹ This, and the five following lines are truly descriptive of modern politicians, who use many words and little matter ; whose excellence is rated by the number of hours they continue speaking, and cavilling in debate.

² A fine encomium on the royalists, their prudence, and suffering fidelity.

³ As the dial is invariable, and always open to the sun whenever its rays can shew the time of day, though the weather is often cloudy, and obscures its lustre : so true loyalty is always ready to serve its king and country, though it often suffers great afflictions and distresses.

⁴ The poet, to serve his metre, lengthens words as well as contracts them, thus lightening, oppugne, sarcasmous, affairs, bungleing, springleing, benigne.

They rally'd in parade of woods,
And unfrequented solitudes ;
Conven'd at midnight in outhouses,
T' appoint new-rising rendezvouses,
And, with a pertinacy unmatched 185
For new recruits ¹ of danger watch'd.
No sooner was one blow diverted,
But up another party started,
And as if Nature too, in haste,
To furnish our supplies as fast, 190
Before her time had turn'd destruction
T' a new and numerous production ; ²
No sooner those were overcome,
But up rose others in their room,
That, like the christian faith, increas'd, 195
The more, the more they were suppress'd :
Whom neither chains, nor transportation,
Proscription, sale or confiscation,
Nor all the desperate events
Of former try'd experiments, 200
Nor wounds, could terrify, nor mangling,
To leave off loyalty and dangling,
Nor death, with all his bones, affright
From vent'ring to maintain the right,
From staking life and fortune down 205
'Gainst all together, ³ for the crown :
But kept the title of their cause
From forfeiture, like claims in laws ;
And prov'd no prosp'rous usurpation
Can ever settle on the nation ; 210

¹ Recruits, that is, returns.

² The succession of loyalists was so quick, that they seemed to be perishing, and others supplying their places, before the periods usual in nature ; all which is expressed with an allusion to equivocal generation.

³ That is, all of them together, namely, the several factions, their adversaries, and the devil. See v. 178.

Until, in spite of force and treason,
 They put their loy'lty in possession;
 And, by their constancy and faith,
 Destroy'd the mighty men of Gath.

Toss'd in a furious hurricane, 215
 Did Oliver give up his reign, ¹
 And was believ'd, as well by saints
 As moral men and miscreants, ²
 To founder in the Stygian ferry,
 Until he was retriev'd by Sterry, ³ 220

¹ The Monday before the death of Oliver, August 30th, 1658, was the most windy day that had happened for twenty years; Dennis Bond, a member of the long parliament, and one of the king's judges, died on this day; wherefore, when Oliver likewise went away in a storm the Friday following, it was said, the devil came in the first wind to fetch him, but finding him not quite ready, he took Bond for his appearance. Dr. Morton, in his book of Fevers, says, that Oliver died of an ague, or, intermittent fever; and intimates, that his life might have been saved had the virtues of the bark been sufficiently known; the distemper was then uncommonly epidemical and fatal: Morton's father died of it. As there was also an high wind the day Oliver died, both the poets and lord Clarendon may be right; though the note on A. Wood's Life insinuates that the noble historian mistook the date of the wind. Wood's Life, p. 115. Waller says:

In storms as loud as his immortal fame;
 and Godolphin:

In storms as loud as was his crying sin.

² Some editions read *mortal*, but not with so much sense or wit. The independents called themselves the saints; the cavaliers, and the church of England, they distinguished into two sorts; the immoral and wicked, they called miscreants; those that were of sober, and of good conversation, they called moral men; yet, because these last did not maintain the doctrine of absolute predestination and justification by faith only, but insisted upon the necessity of good works, they accounted them no better than moral heathens. By this opposition in the terms betwixt *moral men* and *saints*, the poet seems to insinuate, that the pretended saints were men of no morals.

³ It was thought by the king's party, that Oliver Cromwell was gone to the devil; but Sterry, one of Oliver's chaplains, assured the world of his assumption into heaven. Sterry preached the sermon at Oliver's funeral, and comforted the audience with the following information. "As sure as this is the Bible (which he held up in his hand) the blessed spirit of Oliver Cromwell is with Christ, at the right hand of the Father, and if he be there, what may not his family expect from him? For if he were so useful and helpful, and so much good influenced from him to them, when he was in a mortal state, how much more influence will they have from him now in heaven: the Father,



R. Cooper sculp.

PETER BROMWELL,

Native American Portrayed by Cooper

Who, in a false erroneous dream,¹
Mistook the New Jerusalem,

"Son, and Spirit, through him, bestowed gifts and graces upon them." Bishop Burnet hath recorded more rant of this high-flown blasphemer, as I find him called by A. Wood, viz. — that praying for Richard Cromwell, he said, "Make him the brightness of his father's glory, and the express image of his person." Archbishop Tillotson heard him. The following extract is from the register of Caversham, in Berkshire, communicated to me by the very ingenious and learned Dr. Loveday, of that place, to whom I rejoice to acknowledge my obligations for his assistance in the course of this work. "Vaniah Vaux, the daughter of captain George, and Elizabeth Vaux, was born upon a Monday morning, between seven and eight o'clock, at Causham Lodge, being the 19th of May, 1656, and christened by Mr. Peter Sterry, minister and chaplain to the Highness the Lord Protector."

¹ Peter Sterry dreamed, that Oliver was to be placed in heaven, which he foolishly imagined to be the true and real heaven above; but it happened to be the false carnal heaven at the end of Westminster-Hall, where his head was fixed after the Restoration. There were, at that time, two victualling-houses at the end of Westminster-Hall, under the Exchequer, the one called Heaven, and the other Hell: * near to the former Oliver's head was fixed, January 30, 1660. Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, were drawn to Tyburn on three several sledges, and, being taken from their coffins, hanged at the several angles; afterwards their heads were cut off, and set on Westminster-Hall. The following is a transcript from a MS. diary of Mr. Edward Sainthill, a Spanish merchant of those times, and preserved by his descendants. "The 30th of January, being that day twelve years from the death of the king, the odious carcasses of Oliver Cromwell, major-general Ireton, and Bradshaw, were drawn in sledges to Tyburn, where they were hanged by the neck, from morning till four in the afternoon. Cromwell in a green seare cloth, very fresh, embalmed; Ireton having been buried long. hung like a dried rat, yet corrupted about the fundament. Bradshaw, in his winding-sheet, the fingers of his right hand and his nose perished, having wet the sheet through; the rest very perfect, insomuch, that I knew his face, when the hang-man, after cutting his head off, held it up: of his toes, I had five or six in my hand, which the prentices had cut off. Their bodies were thrown into an hole under the gallows, in their seare cloth and sheet. Cromwell had eight cuts, Ireton four, being seare-cloths, and their heads were set up on the south-end of Westminster-Hall." In a marginal note is a drawing of Tyburn (by the same hand) with the bodies hanging, and the grave underneath. Cromwell is represented like a mummy swathed up, with no visible legs or feet. To this memorandum is added:

"Ireton, died the 26th of November, 1651.

"Cromwell, the 3d of September, 1658.

"Bradshaw, the 31st of October, 1659."

* Those gentlemen who had been restrained in the court of wards were led through Westminster-Hall by a strong guard, to that place under the Exchequer, commonly called Hell, where they might eat and drink, at their own costs, what they pleased.

Profanely for th' apocryphal
 False heav'n at the end o' th' hall ;
 Whither, it was decreed by fate, 225
 His precious reliques to translate.
 So Romulus was seen before
 B' as orthodox a senator, ¹
 From whose divine illumination
 He stole the pagan revelation. 230

In the same diary are the following articles :—“ January 8th, 1661, Sir “ A. Haslerigg, that cholerick rebel died in the Tower. The 17th, Ven- “ ner and his accomplice hanged—he and another in Coleman-street ; “ the other 17 in other places of the city. Sept. 3d, 1662, Cromwell’s “ glorious, and yet fatal day, died that long speaker of the long parlia- “ ment, William Lenthall, very penitently.” Yet, according to other accounts, the body of Oliver has been differently disposed of. Some say, that it was sunk in the Thames ; others, that it was buried in Naseby-field. But the most romantic story of all is, that his corpse was privately taken to Windsor, and put in king Charles’s coffin ; while the body of the king was buried in state for Oliver’s, and, consequently, afterwards hanged at Tyburn, and the head exposed at Westminster-Hall. These idle reports might arise from the necessity there was of interring the protector’s body before the funeral rites were performed : for it appears to have been deposited in Westminster-Abbey, in the place now occupied by the tomb of the duke of Buckingham. The engraved plate on his coffin is still in being. Sir John Prestwich, in his *Republica*, tells us, “ that Cromwell’s remains were privately interred “ in a small paddock, near Holborn, on the spot where the obelisk in “ Red-lion-square lately stood.” The account of Oliver’s sickness and death in *Biog. Brit.* ed. 2. vol. iv. p. 108, may be depended upon, being taken from Bates’ *Elenchus Motuum*, who attended as his physician, at the time. Dr. Morton says, *anno 1658, Febris hæc, tam spuria quam simplex, præsertim mensibus autumnalibus ubique per totam Angliam grassabatur, quod etiam Willisius in puretologia sua testatus est. Olivarius Cromwellus, qui tum temporis rerum Britannicarum potitus est, et pater meus reverendus, idemque medicus exercitissimus, illo ipso anno, incunte Septembri, cum hæc constitutio ad ακμην pervenisset, hac febre correpti, fatis cedebant. Hoc tempore fere tota hæc insula nosocomii publici speciem præ se ferebat, et in nonnullis locis sani vix supererant, qui ad ministrandum valetudinariis sufficerent.*

¹ Livy says, “ Romulus, the first Roman king, being suddenly missed, “ and the people in trouble for the loss of him, Julius Proculus made “ a speech, wherein he told them, that he saw Romulus that morning “ come down from heaven ; that he gave him certain things, in charge “ to tell them, and then he saw him mount up to heaven again.” Proculus might have been as creditable and orthodox as Peter Sterry, though not one of the assembly of divines. But Dion. Halicarnas. a better antiquary, and more impartial than Livy, relates, xi. 56, that Romulus was murdered by his own discontented subjects. What the



R Cooper sculp^t

RICHARD CROMWELL.

From the Remains of Cromwell



R Cooper sculp.

JOHN OF LEYDEN.

From a Dutch Print.

Next him his son, and heir apparent
 Succeeded, tho' a lame vicegerent, ¹
 Who first laid by the parliament ;
 The only crutch on which he leant,
 And then sunk underneath the state, 235
 That rode him above horseman's weight. ²

And now the saints began their reign,
 For which they 'ad yearn'd so long in vain, ³
 And felt such bowel-hankerings,
 To see an empire, all of kings, ⁴ 240
 Deliver'd from th' Egyptian awe
 Of justice, government, and law, ⁵
 And free t' erect what spiritual cantons
 Should be reveal'd, or gospel Hans-Towns. ⁶
 To edify upon the ruins 245
 Of John of Leyden's old out-goings, ⁷
 Who for a weather-cock hung up
 Upon their mother-church's top,

annotator to the third part has concerning Quirinus, he might have taken from Dionysius, but neither this author nor Livy say a word about making oath. Dionysius names the witness Julius, and says, he was a country farmer: though our poet has exalted him to the rank of a senator. In succeeding times, when it became fashionable to deify the emperors and their wives, some one was actually bribed to swear, previously to the ceremony, that he had seen the departed person ascending into heaven. Hence, on the consecration coins, we find a person mounted on an eagle, or peacock, or drawn upwards in a chariot.

¹ Richard Cromwell, the eldest son of Oliver, succeeded him in the protectorship; but had neither capacity nor courage sufficient for the situation.

² See Part i. canto i. l. 925, where he rides the state; but here the state rides him.

³ Meaning the committee of safety. See lord Clarendon, vol. iii. b. xvi. p. 544, and Baxter's Life, p. 74.

⁴ They founded their hopes on Revelation i. 6. and v. 10.

⁵ Some sectaries thought, that all law proceedings should be abolished, all law books burnt, and that the law of the Lord Jesus should be received alone.

⁶ At liberty to erect free states and communities, like the cantons of Switzerland, or the Hans-towns of Germany; or, in short, to establish any polity which their holy zeal might find agreeable.

⁷ John Buckhold, or Bokelson, a tailor of Leyden, was ring-leader of a furious tribe of anabaptists, who made themselves masters of the city of Munster, where they proclaimed a community both of goods and

Was made a type by Providence,
 Of all their revelations since, 250
 And now fulfill'd by his successors,
 Who equally mistook their measures;
 For when they came to shape the model,
 Not one could fit another's noddle;
 But found their light and gifts more wide 255
 From fadging, than th' unsanctify'd,
 While ev'ry individual brother
 Strove hand to fist against another,
 And still the maddest, and most crackt,
 Were found the busiest to transact; ¹ 260
 For tho' most hands dispatch apace,
 And make light work, the proverb says,
 Yet many diff'rent intellects
 Are found t' have contrary effects;
 And many heads t' obstruct intrigues, 265
 As slowest insects have most legs.
 Some were for setting up a king,
 But all the rest for no such thing,
 Unless king Jesus: ² others tamper'd
 For Fleetwood, Desborough and Lambert; ³ 270

women. This New Jerusalem, as they had named it, was retaken, after a long siege, by its bishop and sovereign count Waldeck; and John, with two of his associates, was suspended in an iron cage on the highest tower of the city. This happened about the year 1536.

¹ A very sensible observation, which has been justified too frequently in other instances.

² "The fifth monarchy-men," as bishop Burnet says, "seemed daily to expect the appearance of Christ." Mr. Carew, one of the king's judges, would not plead to his indictment, when brought to trial, till he had entered a salvo for the jurisdiction of Jesus Christ: "saying 'to our Lord Jesus Christ his right to the government of these king-doms.'"

³ Fleetwood was son-in-law to Cromwell, having married Ireton's widow. He was made lord deputy of Ireland, and lieutenant-general of the army. Desborough married one of Cromwell's sisters, and became a colonel, and general at sea. Lambert was the person who, as Ludlow tells us, was always kept in expectation by Cromwell of succeeding him, and was indeed the best qualified for it.



R Cooper sculp^t

GENERAL JAMES FLEETWOOD

— 1794 —



R Cooper sculp^r

GENERAL JOHN DESBOROUGH.

From a Picture by Adam



R. Cooper sculp^t

GENERAL JOHN LAMBERT

from a Picture by Kneller.

Some for the rump, and some more crafty,
 For agitators, and the safety ;¹
 Some for the gospel, and massacres
 Of spiritual affidavit-makers,²
 That swore to any human regence 275
 Oaths of suprem'cy and allegiance ;
 Yea, tho' the ablest swearing saint,
 That vouch'd the bulls o' th' covenant :
 Others for pulling down th' high places
 Of synods and provincial classes,³ 280
 That us'd to make such hostile inroads
 Upon the saints, like bloody Nimrods :
 Some for fulfilling prophecies,⁴
 And th' extirpation of th' excise ;
 And some against th' Egyptian bondage 285
 Of holidays, and paying poundage :⁵

¹ Some were for restoring the remnant of the long parliament, which, by deaths, exclusions, and expulsions, was reduced to a small number, perhaps forty or fifty, and therefore called the rump. After the king's party was subdued, and the parliament began to talk of disbanding the army, or sending it into Ireland, a military council was set up, consisting of the chief officers, like the lords, and a number of deputies from the inferior officers and common soldiers, like the commons, who were to meet and consult on the interests of the army. These were called agitators, and the chief management of affairs seemed to be for some time in their hands. When Lambert had broken the rump parliament in 1659, the officers of the army, joined by some of the members, agreed to form a committee of safety, as they called it, consisting of between twenty or thirty persons, who were to assume the government, and provide for the safety of the kingdom.

² Some were for abolishing all laws but what were expressed in the words of the gospel : for destroying all magistracy and government, and for extirpating those who should endeavour to uphold it ; and of those Whitelock alledges, that he acted as a member of the committee of safety, because so many were for abolishing all order, that the nation was like to run into the utmost confusion. The agitators wished : destroy all records, and the courts of justice.

³ They wished to see an end of the presbyterian hierarchy.

⁴ That is, perhaps, for taking arms against the pope.

⁵ On the 8th of June, 1647, an ordinance was published throughout England and Wales to abolish festivals, and allow the second Tuesday in every month to scholars, apprentices, and servants, for their recreation. The taxes imposed by the parliament were numerous and heavy : a pound rate was levied on all personal property. For *poundage*, see Clarendon, vol. i. fol. 206.

Some for the cutting down of groves,¹
 And rectifying bakers' loaves;
 And some for finding out expedients
 Against the slav'ry of obedience : 290
 Some were for gospel-ministers,
 And some for red-coat seculars,²
 As men most fit t' hold forth the word,
 And wield the one and th' other sword :³
 Some were for carrying on the work 295
 Against the pope, and some the Turk :
 Some for engaging to suppress
 The camisado of surplices,⁴
 That gifts and dispensations hinder'd,
 And turn'd to th' outward man the inward ;⁵ 300
 More proper for the cloudy night
 Of popery than gospel-light :

¹ That is, for destroying the ornaments of churches, which they supposed to be marks of idolatry and superstition. Mr. Gosling, in his *Walk about Canterbury*, p. 193, tells a story of one Richard Culmer, a minister of God's word, and M.A. who demolished a rich window of painted glass, and published an account of his exploit; yet without noticing the following occurrence: "While he was laying about him with great zeal and ardour, a townsman looking on, asked him what he was doing? 'I am doing the work of the Lord,' said he. 'Then,' replied the other, 'if it please the Lord I will help you : ' and threw a stone with so good a will, that if the saint had not ducked, he might have laid his own bones among the rubbish he was making. N. B. "He was then mounted on a ladder sixty feet high." It is well known that groves were anciently made use of as places of worship. The rows of clustered pillars in our gothic cathedrals, branching out and meeting at top in long drawn arches, are supposed to have been suggested by the venerable groves of our ancestors.

² Some petitioned for the continuance and maintenance of a gospel ministry. Some thought that laymen, and even soldiers, might preach the word, as some of them did, particularly Cromwell and Ireton.

³ "The sword of the spirit, which is the word of God." Ephesians vi. 17.

⁴ Some sectaries had a violent aversion to the surplice, which they called a rag of popery. *Camisado* or *camisade*, is an expedition by night in which the soldiers sometimes wear their shirts over the rest of their clothes, that they may be distinguished by their comrades.

⁵ Transferred the purity which should remain in the heart, to the vestment on the back.

Others were for abolishing
 That tool of matrimony, a ring,¹
 With which th' unsanctify'd bridegroom 305
 Is marry'd only to a thumb,²
 As wise as ringing of a pig,
 That us'd to break up ground, and dig;
 The bride to nothing but her "will,"³
 That nulls the after-marriage still: 310
 Some were for th' utter extirpation
 Of linsey-woolsey in the nation;⁴

¹ Persons contracting matrimony were to publish their intentions in the next town, on three market days, and afterwards the contract was to be certified by a justice of the peace: no ring was used.

² The word *thumb* is used for the sake of rhyme, the ring being put by the bridegroom upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand. This is a very ancient custom, and not unknown to the Greeks and Romans. Many whimsical reasons are given for it. We are told by Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. lib. x. ch. 10, that from this finger there goes a most delicate nerve to the heart: but our ancestors were very fond of wearing thumb-rings: abbots were generally buried with them, in token of their connection, or marriage, with the religious house over which they presided. [In early times the thumb was used as a seal (see Du Cange), as it is to this day in attestations; from thence the seal ring was worn upon the thumb, which affords perhaps the best reason for abbots being buried with them. But in the text it would seem that something more is meant than meets the ear; for Butler with his facility of versification would never have given such a rhyme for the rhyme's sake merely. The following extract from No. 614 of the Spectator seems to throw a glimmer on the passage: "Before I speak of widows, I cannot but observe one thing, which I do not know how to account for; a widow is always more sought after than an old maid of the same age. It is common enough among ordinary people for a stale virgin to set up a shop in a place where she is not known; where the *large thumb ring*, supposed to be given her by her husband, quickly recommends her to some wealthy neighbour, who takes a liking to the jolly widow, that would have overlooked the venerable spinster." Falstaff says:

"I could have crept into any alderman's *thumb ring*."]]

³ Mr. Warburton thinks this an equivocal, alluding to the response which the bride makes in the marriage ceremony—"I will." Mr. Butler in his *Genuine Remains*, vol. i. p. 246, says:

The souls of women are so small,
 That some believe th' have none at all;
 Or, if they have, like cripples, still,
 Th' ave but one faculty, the will.

⁴ Were for judaizing. The Jewish law forbids the use of a garment made of linen and woollen. Lev. xix. 19.

And some against all idolizing
 The cross in shop-books, or baptizing;¹
 Others to make all things recant
 The christian or sirname of saint,² 315
 And force all churches, streets, and towns,
 The holy title to renounce;
 Some 'gainst a third estate of souls,
 And bringing down the price of coals;³
 Some for abolishing black-pudding, 320
 And eating nothing with the blood in;⁴
 To abrogate them roots and branches,⁵
 While others were for eating haunches

¹ The presbyterians thought it superstitious and popish to use the sign of the cross in baptism; or, even for tradesmen to make a cross in their books, as a sign of payment. Mr. Warburton thinks the lines may refer to a proposal, which was made by some, for spunging all public debts; and, perhaps, it is a sneer upon the anabaptists, who called themselves *liberi homines*, and pretended they were made free by Christ, from payment of all taxes and debts; and some presbyterians made this a pretence for not paying their private debts, lest they should give occasion to the making of crosses, and so be promoters of idolatry. Butler unites the most trivial with the most important objects of reformation proposed by the fanatic republicans of that time, and means, that as the original nonconformists objected to the sign of the cross in baptism, so now their successors carried their aversion to that once venerated form to such an extreme, as to call it idolatrous, when only used to cross out paltry debts in a tradesman's ledger-book.

² Streets, parishes, churches, and even the apostles themselves, were unsainted for eight or ten years preceding the restoration. See the *Spectator*, No. 125.

³ The first line may allude to the intermediate or middle state, in which some supposed the soul to continue from the time of its leaving the body to the resurrection; or else it may allude to the popish doctrine of purgatory. The former subject was warmly discussed about this time. The exorbitant price of coals was then loudly complained of. Sir Arthur Hazlerigg laid a tax of four shillings a chaldron upon Newcastle coals, when he was governor there. Many petitions were presented against the tax; and various schemes proposed for reducing the price of them. Shakspeare says:

A pair of tribunes that have sack'd fair Rome
To make coals cheap. Coriolanus, Act v. sc. 1.

⁴ The judaizing sect.

⁵ This line seems unconnected with the preceding, and I am inclined to think is misplaced. Clarendon mentions a set of men, were called root and branch men, in opposition to others who were of more moderate principles. To *abrogate*, that is, that they might utterly abrogate or renounce every thing that had blood, while others were for eating haunches, alluding to Revelations, xix. 18. "That ye might eat the

Of warriors, and now and then, 325
 The flesh of kings and mighty men ; ¹
 And some for breaking of their bones
 With rods of iron, ² by secret ones ; ³
 For thrashing mountains, and with spells
 For hallowing carriers' packs and bells ; ⁴ 330
 Things that the legend never heard of,
 But made the wicked sore afeard of. ⁵

The quacks of government, ⁶ who sate
 At th' unregarded helm of state,
 And understood this wild confusion 335
 Of fatal madness and delusion,
 Must, sooner than a prodigy,
 Portend destruction to be nigh,
 Consider'd timely how t' withdraw,
 And save their wind-pipes from the law ; 340
 For one rencounter at the bar
 Was worse than all they 'ad 'scap'd in war ;
 And therefore met in consultation
 To cant and quack upon the nation ;

" flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men,
 " and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of
 " all men, both free and bond, both small and great."

¹ Expecting, perhaps, the completion of the text, Rev. xix. 18.

² Ridiculing the practice, so common in those days, of expressing
 every sentiment in terms of Scripture. He alludes perhaps to Psalm ii.
 9. Isaiah xli. 15, and Revelations xix. 15.

³ Thus in the 83d Psalm and 3d verse, "and taken counsel against
 " thy secret ones." it is thus translated in their favourite copy of
 Geneva. See this expression used v. 681, 697 and 706 of this canto.

⁴ See Zecharia xiv. 20.

⁵ Things which the Scriptures never intended, but which the wicked,
 that is, the warriors, kings, and mighty men were afraid of, lest they
 should break their bones and eat their flesh.

⁶ These were Mr. Hollis, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Grimstone, An-
 nesley, Manchester, Roberts, and others ; who perceiving that Richard
 Cromwell was unable to conduct the government, and that the various
 schemers, who daily started up, would divide the party, and facilitate
 the restoration of the royal family, thought it prudent to take care of
 themselves, and secure their own interests with as much haste as pos-
 sible.

Not for the sickly patient's sake, 345
 Nor what to give, but what to take ;
 To feel the pulses of their fees,
 More wise than fumbling arteries ;
 Prolong the snuff of life in pain,
 And from the grave recover — gain. 350
 'Mong these there was a politician,
 With more heads than a beast in vision,¹
 And more intrigues in every one
 Than all the whores of Babylon ;
 So politic, as if one eye 355
 Upon the other were a spy,²
 That to trepan the one to think
 The other blind, both strove to blink ;
 And in his dark pragmatic way,
 As busy as a child at play. 360
 He 'ad seen three governments run down,³
 And had a hand in ev'ry one ;
 Was for 'em, and against 'em all,
 But barb'rous when they came to fall :
 For by trepanning th' old to ruin, 365
 He made his int'rest with the new one ;
 Play'd true and faithful, tho' against
 His conscience, and was still advanc'd :

¹ Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper afterwards earl of Shaftesbury. See bishop Burnet's character of him in the history of his own times. In 1660, Ashley Cooper was named one of the twelve members of the house of commons, to carry their invitation to the king: and it was in performing this service that he was overturned on the road, and received a dangerous wound between the ribs, which ulcerated many years after, and was opened when he was lord chancellor; hence, and from an absurd defamation that he had the vanity to expect to be chosen king of Poland, he was called Tapsky; others, from his general conduct, nicknamed him Shiftesbury.

With more heads than a beast in vision. Than the beast with seven heads and ten horns, in the Revelations.

² Lord Shaftesbury had weak eyes, and squinted. He had other disorders, which are mentioned in the *Musæ Anglicanæ*, and in Butler's *Remains*, vol. ii. p. 369. "He is intimate with no man, but his pimp "and his surgeon." Character of an undeserving favourite.

³ Those of the king, the parliament, and the protector. First he



R Cooper sculp^t

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER.

Earl of Shaftesbury

from an Original Picture in the Collection of the Duke of Devon at Knole

For by the witchcraft of rebellion
 Transform'd t' a feeble state-camelion,¹ 370
 By giving aim from side to side,
 He never fail'd to save his tide,
 But got the start of ev'ry state,
 And at a change, ne'er came too late ;
 Could turn his word, and oath, and faith, 375
 As many ways as in a lath ;
 By turning, wriggle, like a screw,
 Int' highest trust and out for new :
 For when he 'ad happily incurr'd,
 Instead of hemp, to be preferr'd, 380
 And pass'd upon a government,²
 He play'd his trick, and out he went ;
 But being out, and out of hopes
 To mount his ladder, more, of ropes,³
 Would strive to raise himself upon 385
 The public ruin, and his own ;
 So little did he understand
 The desp'rate feats he took in hand,

was high sheriff of Dorsetshire, governor of Weymouth, and raised some forces for the king's service. Next he joined the parliament, took the covenant, and was made colonel of a regiment of horse. Afterwards he was a very busy person in setting up Cromwell to be lord protector ; and then again was quite as active in deposing Richard, and restoring the rump. Bishop Burnet says of him, that he was not ashamed to reckon up the many turns he had made, and valued himself upon effecting them at the properest season, and in the best manner :

For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
 Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit ;
 Restless, unfix'd in principles and place,
 In power unpleas'd, impatient of disgrace :
 In friendship false, implacable in hate,
 Resolv'd to ruin, or to rule the state.

Absalom and Achitophel.

¹ The camelion is said to assume the colour of the nearest object. See a treatise with this title among the works of Buchanan, at the end of the first volume, printed in 1723, written to traduce Secretary Maitland, alias Lethington, a politician of similar talents.

² That is, passed himself upon the government.

³ It was in clandestine designs, such as house-breaking and the like, that rope ladders were chiefly used in our poet's time.

For when he 'ad got himself a name
 For frauds and tricks he spoil'd his game ; 390
 Had ¹ forc'd his neck into a noose,
 To shew his play at fast and loose ;
 And, when he chanc'd t' escape, mistook,
 For art and subtlety, his luck.
 So right his judgment was cut fit, 395
 And made a tally to his wit,
 And both together most profound
 At deeds of darkness under ground
 As th' earth is easiest undermin'd,
 By vermin impotent and blind. ² 400
 By all these arts, and many more,
 He 'ad practis'd long and much before,
 Our state-artificer foresaw
 Which way the world began to draw :
 For as old sinners have all points 405
 O' th' compass in their bones and joints,
 Can by their pangs and aches find
 All turns and changes of the wind,
 And better than by Napier's bones, ³
 Feel in their own the age of moons ; 410
 So guilty sinners, in a state,
 Can by their crimes prognosticate,
 And in their consciences feel pain
 Some days before a show'r of rain :
 He therefore wisely cast about 415
 All ways he could t' ensure his throat,

¹ Perhaps it would be better if for *had*, we read *and*, or *he*.

² The poet probably means earthworms, which are still more impotent and blind than moles.

³ Lord Napier was one of the first establishers of the Royal Society, a very considerable mathematician, inventor of logarithms, and of certain pieces of wood or ivory with numbers on them, with which he performed arithmetical and geometrical calculations, and these were called Napier's bones. See Lilly's History of his own Life and Times, p. 105, where he is called lord Marchiston.



R Cooper sculp^t

NAPIER of MERCHISTON.

From a rare Print by Deuram.



JOHN WATSON, 1824, ENGRAVER.

From the original in the possession of the author.

And hither came, t' observe and smoke
What courses other riskers took,
And to the utmost do his best
To save himself, and hang the rest. 420

To match this saint there was another,
As busy and perverse a brother,¹
An haberdasher of small wares²
In politics and state affairs ;
More Jew than rabbi Achithophel,³ 425
And better gifted to rebel ;
For when h' had taught his tribe to 'spouse
The cause, aloft upon one house,
He scorn'd to set his own in order,
But try'd another, and went further ; 430

¹ The old annotator applies this character to the famous John Lilbourn ; and indeed it resembles him in many respects. But the time of the action in this canto immediately precedes the Restoration, 1660, and Lilbourn died August 28, 1657. The apparent anachronism may shew, that Butler did not desire to be understood of Lilbourn or Shaftesbury, exclusively of others ; though doubtless the character of those two men furnished him with the principal traits in the two pictures. In his Remains, vol. ii. p. 272, are two speeches pretended to have been made in the rump parliament, 1659, one of them by a presbyterian, the other by an independent. They maintain the same sentiments with the following debate, but have no personal allusions to mark the particular characters of the two speakers. " The reader," says Mr. Thyer, " who " has curiosity enough to compare, will find a great similarity of argument in the two performances ; and that the grave, distinct reasoning " in the serious invective, serves very happily to illustrate the arch and " satirical drollery of the poetical banter." Colonel John Lilbourn had been severely censured in the star-chamber, for dispersing seditious pamphlets ; and on the same account was afterwards rewarded by the parliament, and preferred by Cromwell. But when Cromwell had usurped the sovereign power, Lilbourn forsook him, and writing and speaking vehemently he was arraigned of treason. He was a grand leveller, and strong opponent of all that was uppermost ; a man of such an inveterate spirit of contradiction, that it was commonly said of him, if the world were emptied of all but himself, John would be against Lilbourn, and Lilbourn against John. Though John was dead, his brother Robert was living, and figured conspicuously. But perhaps the poet might here mean some one more considerable than Lilbourn to oppose to Ashley Cooper.

² A smatterer in politics. Lilbourn had been bred a tradesman : lord Clarendon says a bookbinder ; Anthony a Wood makes him a packer.

³ Achithophel was one of David's counsellors. He joined the rebellious Absalom, and assisted him with very artful advice ; but hanged himself when it was not implicitly followed. 2 Samuel, xvii. 23.

So suddenly addicted still
 To 's only principle, his will,
 That whatsoe'er it chanc'd to prove,
 No force of argument could move,
 Nor law, nor cavalcade of Ho'born,¹ 435
 Could render half a grain less stubborn;
 For he at any time would hang,
 For th' opportunity t' harangue;
 And rather on a gibbet dangle,
 Than miss his dear delight, to wrangle; 440
 In which his parts were so accomplish'd,
 That, right or wrong, he ne'er was non-plust:
 But still his tongue ran on, the less
 Of weight it bore, with greater ease;
 And, with its everlasting clack, 445
 Set all men's ears upon the rack:
 No sooner could a hint appear,
 But up he started to picqueer,²
 And made the stoutest yield to mercy,
 When he engag'd in controversy; 450
 Not by the force of carnal reason,
 But indefatigable teasing;
 With vollies of eternal babble,
 And clamour, more unanswerable:
 For tho' his topics, frail and weak, 455
 Cou'd ne'er amount above a freak,
 He still maintain'd 'em, like his faults,
 Against the desp'ratest assaults;
 And back'd their feeble want of sense,
 With greater heat and confidence:³ 460

¹ When criminals were executed at Tyburn, they were generally conveyed in carts, by the sheriff and his attendants on horseback, from Newgate, along Snow-hill, Holborn hill, Holborn, High-Holborn, Broad St. Giles's, Oxford-street, and Tyburn-road.

² In a conference with James H. held with Burnet on the subject of religion, James said "he had piqueered with Sheldon and Morley, and "found them nearer to popery than the young divines:" it is a military term, and signifies to skirmish.

³ When Lilbourn was arraigned for treason against Cromwell, he

As bones of Hectors, when they differ,
 The more they 're cudgell'd, grow the stiffer.¹
 Yet when this profit moderated,²
 The fury of his heat abated ;
 For nothing but his interest 465
 Could lay his devil of contest :
 It was his choice, or chance, or curse,
 T' espouse the cause for better or worse,
 And with his worldly goods and wit,
 And soul and body worshipp'd it :³ 470
 But when he found the sullen trapes
 Possess'd with th' devil, worms, and claps ;
 The Trojan mare, in foal with Greeks,
 Not half so full of jadish tricks,
 Tho' squeamish in her outward woman, 475
 As loose and rampant as Doll Common ;⁴
 He still resolv'd to mend the matter,
 T' adhere and cleave the obstinater ;
 And still the skittisher and looser
 Her freaks appear'd, to sit the closer ; 480
 For fools are stubborn in their way,
 As coins are harden'd by th' allay :
 And obstinacy's ne'er so stiff,
 As when 'tis in a wrong belief.⁵

pleaded at his trial, that no treason could be committed against such a government, and what he had done was in defence of the liberties of his country.

¹ A pun upon the word stiffer.

² When his interest swayed and governed him. *Moderated* is a verb active.

³ Alluding to the words in the office of matrimony. "With my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow."

⁴ A prostitute in Ben Jonson's play of *The Alchymist*.

⁵ The same sentiment is differently expressed in the *Remains*, vol. i. page 181.

For as implicit faith is far more stiff,
 Than that which understands its own belief ;
 So those that think, and do but think, they know,
 Are far more obstinate than those that do :
 And more averse, than if they 'd ne'er been taught
 A wrong way, to a right one to be brought.

These two, with others, being met,¹ 485
 And close in consultation set,
 After a discontented pause,
 And not without sufficient cause,
 The orator we mention'd late,
 Less troubled with the pangs of state, 490
 Than with his own impatience,
 To give himself first audience,
 After he had awhile look'd wise,
 At last broke silence, and the ice.

Quoth he, There's nothing makes me doubt
 Our last outgoings brought about,
 More than to see the characters
 Of real jealousies and fears
 Not feign'd, as once, but sadly horrid,²
 Scor'd upon ev'ry member's forehead ; 500
 Who, 'cause the clouds are drawn together,
 And threaten sudden change of weather,
 Feels pangs and aches of state-turns,
 And revolutions in their corns ;
 And, since our workings-out are crost,³ 505
 Throw up the cause before 'tis lost.
 Was it to run away we meant,
 Who, taking of the covenant,
 The lamest cripples of the brothers
 Took oaths to run before all others,⁴ 510

¹ A cabal met at Whitehall, at the same time that general Monk dined with the city of London.

² Not feigned and pretended as formerly, in the beginning of the parliament, when they stirred up the people against the king, by forging letters, suborning witnesses, and making an outcry of strange plots being carried on, and horrible dangers being at hand. For instance, the people were incensed, as if the papists were about to fire their houses, and cut their throats whilst they were at church ; as if troops of soldiers were kept under ground to do execution upon them ; and sometimes, as if the Thames were intended to be blown up with gunpowder, to drown or choak them. Bates's Elench. Motuum.

³ Out-goings, and workings-out, were cant terms in frequent use with the sectaries, signifying perhaps their endeavours, and their works.

⁴ These were the words used in the solemn league and covenant

But in their own sense, only swore,
 To strive to run away before,
 And now would prove, that words and oath
 Engage us to renounce them both ?
 'Tis true the cause is in the lurch, 515
 Between a right and mongrel-church ;
 The presbyter and independent,
 That stickle which shall make an end on't,
 As 'twas made out to us the last
 Expedient,— I mean Marg'ret's fast ; ¹ 520
 When Providence had been suborn'd,
 What answer was to be return'd : ²
 Else why should tumults fright us now,
 We have so many times gone thro',
 And understand as well to tame 525
 As when they serve our turns, t' inflame ?
 Have prov'd how inconsiderable
 Are all engagements of the rabble,
 Whose frenzies must be reconcil'd
 With drums, and rattles, like a child, 530

“ our true and unfeigned purpose is, each one to go before another in
 “ the example of a real reformation.”

¹ The lectures and exercises delivered on days of public devotion, were called *expedients*. Besides twenty-five days of solemn fasting and humiliation on extraordinary occasions, there was a fast kept every month for about eight years together. The commons attended divine service in St. Margaret's church, Westminster. The reader will observe, that the orator does not say *Saint* Margaret's, but *Margaret's* fast. Some of the sectaries, instead of Saint Peter or Saint Paul, would in derision say, Sir Peter and Sir Paul. The parliament petitioned the king for fasts, while he had power, and afterwards the appointing them themselves, was an *expedient* they made use of to alarm and deceive the people, who upon such an occasion, could not but conclude there was some more than ordinary impending danger, or some important business carrying on.

² These sectaries pretended a great familiarity with heaven ; and when any villany was to be transacted, they would seem in their prayers to propose their doubts and scruples to God Almighty, and after having debated the matter some time with him, they would turn their discourse, and bring forth an answer suitable to their designs, which the people were to look upon as suggested from heaven. Bates's Elench. Motuum. It was an observation in that time, that the first publishing of extraordinary news was from the pulpit ; and from the

But never prov'd so prosperous,
 As when they were led on by us ;
 For all our scouring of religion
 Began with tumults and sedition ;
 When hurricanes of fierce commotion 535
 Became strong motives to devotion ;
 As carnal seamen in a storm,
 Turn pious converts, and reform,
 When rusty weapons, with chalk'd edges,
 Maintain'd our feeble privileges, 540
 And brown-bills levy'd in the city, ¹
 Made bills to pass the grand committee :
 When zeal, with aged clubs and gleaves, ²
 Gave chase to rochets, and white sleeves, ³

preacher's text and discourse the hearers might judge, and commonly foresaw, what was likely to be done next in the parliament or council of state. Lord Clarendon.

¹ Apprentices armed with occasional weapons. Ainsworth, in his Dictionary, translates *sparum*, a brown bill. Bishop Warburton says, to fight with rusty or poisoned weapons, (see Shakspeare's *Hamlet*) was against the law of arms. So when the citizens used the former, they chalked the edges. Samuel Johnson, in the octavo edition of his Dictionary, says, "*brown-bill* was the ancient weapon of the English foot," so called, perhaps, because sanguined to prevent the rust : thus sportsmen often serve their fowling-pieces to prevent too much glitter, as well as the rust. Black-bill seems to be the opposite term to brown-bill. See T. Warton's *Life of Sir T. Pope* p. 356. note. The common epithet for a sword, or offensive weapon in the old metrical romances, is brown : as brown brand or brown sword, brown bill, &c. and sometimes even bright brown sword. Chaucer applies the word *rustie* in the same sense ; he thus describes the reve, "and by his side he bare a rustie blade." And again, even thus the god Mars, "and in his hand he had a rusty sword." Spenser has sometimes used the same epithet. See Warton's *Observations*, vol ii. p. 62. Perhaps our ancestors deemed it honourable to carry their weapons stained with the blood of their enemies. In the ballad of Robin Hood, and Guy of Gisborne, l. 148, "with blades both brown and bright." Percy's *Reliques*, p. 88. See verse 1508 of this canto.

With new chalk'd bills, and rusty arms.

Butler in his *M.S. Common-place book*, says, "the confident man's wit "is like a watchman's bill with a chalked edge, that pretends to sharpness, only to conceal its dull bluntness from the public view."

² Zealots armed with old clubs ; and *gleaves*, swords, from the Latin *gladius*.

³ Alderman Pennington, with some hundred of the rabble at his heels,

And made the church, and state, and laws, 545
Submit t' old iron, and the cause.
And as we thriv'd by tumults then,
So might we better now agen,
If we knew how, as then we did,
To use them rightly in our need : 550
Tumults, by which the mutinous
Betray themselves instead of us ;
The hollow-hearted, disaffected,
And close malignant are detected ;
Who lay their lives and fortunes down, 555
For pledges to secure our own ;
And freely sacrifice their ears
T' appease our jealousies and fears :
And yet, for all these providences,
W' are offer'd, if we have our senses, 560
We idly sit, like stupid blockheads,
Our hands committed to our pockets,
And nothing but our tongues at large,
To get the wretches a discharge :
Like men condemn'd to thunder-bolts, 565
Who, ere the blow, become mere dolts ; ¹
Or fools besotted with their crimes,
That know not how to shift betimes,
And neither have the hearts to stay,
Nor wit enough to run away : 570
Who, if we could resolve on either,
Might stand or fall at least together ;

presented a petition to the Commons signed with 15,000 names, praying that the government by bishops might be abolished. Afterwards the apprentices were drawn down in great numbers, to cry out at the parliament doors, No bishops, No Bishops ! Bywhich, and the like means, the bill against the Bishops voting in parliament, and that against the earl of Strafford, were made to pass the houses, and obtain the royal assent.

¹ Some of the ancients, were of opinion that thunder stupified before it killed. See Amnian. Marcellin. Vejovis fulmine mox tangendos adeo hebetari, ut nec tonitrum nec majores aliquos possint audire fragores,

No mean or trivial solaces
 To partners in extreme distress,¹
 Who use to lessen their despairs, 575
 By parting them int' equal shares ;
 As if the more they were to bear,²
 They felt the weight the easier ;
 And ev'ry one the gentler hung,
 The more he took his turn among. 580
 But 'tis not come to that, as yet,
 If we had courage left, or wit,
 Who, when our fate can be no worse,
 Are fitted for the bravest course,
 Have time to rally, and prepare 585
 Our last and best defence, despair :³
 Despair, by which the gallant'st feats
 Have been achiev'd in greatest straits,
 And horrid'st dangers safely wav'd,
 By b'ing courageously outbrav'd ; 590
 As wounds by wider wounds are heal'd,
 And poisons by themselves expell'd :⁴
 And so they might be now agen,
 If we were, what we should be, men ;
 And not so dully desperate, 595
 To side against ourselves with fate :
 As criminals, condemn'd to suffer,
 Are blinded first, and then turn'd over.
 This comes of breaking covenants,
 And setting up exempts of saints,⁵ 600
 That fine, like aldermen, for grace,
 To be excus'd the efficacy :⁶

xvii. 10. and Plin. Nat. Hist. ii. 54. Perhaps the notion may be as old as Æschylus: see his Prometheus.

¹ Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.

² In some editions ; as if the more *there* were to bear.

³ Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.

⁴ Sneering Sir Kenelm Digby, and others, who assert this as a fact, indeed, oil is a good cure of the serpent's bite. See v. 1029 of this canto.

⁵ Dispensing, in particular instances, with the covenant and obligations.

⁶ Persons who are nominated to an office, and pay the accustomed

For sp'ritual men are too transcendent,¹
 That mount their banks for independent,²
 To hang, like Mah'met, in the air,³ 605
 Or St. Ignatius, at his prayer,⁴
 By pure geometry, and hate
 Dependence upon church or state ;
 Disdain the pedantry o' th' letter,
 And since obedience is better, 610
 The Scripture says, than sacrifice,
 Presume the less on 't will suffice ;
 And scorn to have the moderat'st stints
 Prescrib'd their peremptory hints,
 Or any opinion, true or false, 615
 Declar'd as such, in doctrinals ;
 But left at large to make their best on,
 Without b'ing call'd t' account or quest'on :
 Interpret all the spleen reveals,
 As Whittington explain'd the bells ;⁵ 620
 And bid themselves turn back agen
 Lord May'rs of New Jerusalem ;

fine, are entitled to the same privileges as if they had performed the service. Thus, some of the sectaries, if they paid handsomely, were deemed saints, and full of grace, though, from the tenor of their lives, they merited no such distinction, commuting for their want of real grace, that they might be excused the drudgery of good works, for spiritual men are too transcendent to grovel in good works, namely, those spiritual men that mount their banks for independent. *Efficace* is an affected word of the poet's own coining, and signifies, I suppose, actual service.

¹ This, and the following lines, contain an elegant satire upon those persons who renounce all dependance either on the church or state.

² *Etre sur les bancs*, is to hold a dispute, to assert a claim, to contest a right or an honour, to be a competitor.

³ They need no such support as the body of Mahomet ; which, history fabulously tells us, is kept suspended in the air, by being placed in a steel coffin, between two load-stones of equal powers.

⁴ Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the jesuits. An old soldier : at the siege of Pampeluna by the French he had both his legs wounded, the left by a stone, the right broken by a bullet. His fervours in devotion were so strong, that they sometimes raised him two cubits from the ground. The same story is told in the legends of Saint Dominick, Xavier, and Philip Neri.

⁵ In his imagination their jingle said,

But look so big and overgrown,
 They scorn their edifiers t' own.
 Who taught them all their sprinkling lessons, 625
 Their tones, and sanctify'd expressions ;
 Bestow'd their gifts upon a saint,
 Like charity, on those that want ;
 And learn'd th' apocryphal bigots
 T' inspire themselves with shorthand notes, ¹ 630
 For which they scorn and hate them worse
 Than dogs and cats do sow-gelders :
 For who first bred them up to pray,
 And teach the house of commons way ?
 Where had they all their gifted phrases, 635
 But from our Calamies and Cases ? ²
 Without whose sprinkling and sowing,
 Whoe'er had heard of Nye or Owen ? ³

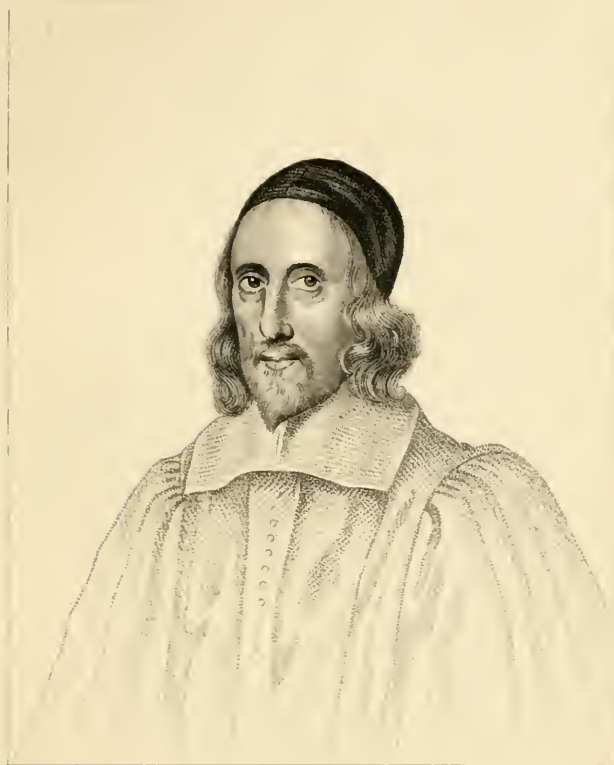
Turn again Whittington,
 For thou in time shalt grow
 Lord mayor of London.

Obeying the admonition, he not only attained the promised honour, but amassed a fortune of £350,000. Tatler, No. 78.

¹ *Learn'd*, that is, taught. *Apocryphal bigots*, not genuine ones, some suppose to be a kind of second-rate independent divines, that availed themselves of the genuine bigots or presbyterian ministers discourse, by taking down the heads of it in short-hand, and then retailing it at private meetings. The accent is laid upon the last syllable of *bigot*.

² Calamy was minister of Aldermanbury, London, a zealous presbyterian and covenanter, and frequent preacher before the parliament. He was one of the first who whispered in the conventicles, what afterward he proclaimed openly, that for the cause of religion it was lawful for the subjects to take up arms against the king. Case, upon the deprivation of a loyalist, became minister of Saint Mary Magdalen church, Milk-street ; where it was usual with him thus to invite his people to the communion : " You that have freely and liberally contributed to " the parliament, for the defence of God's cause and the gospel, draw " near," &c. instead of the words, " ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins." He was one of the assembly of divines, preached for the covenant, and printed his sermon ; preached often before the parliament, was a bitter enemy to independents, and concerned with Love in the plot.

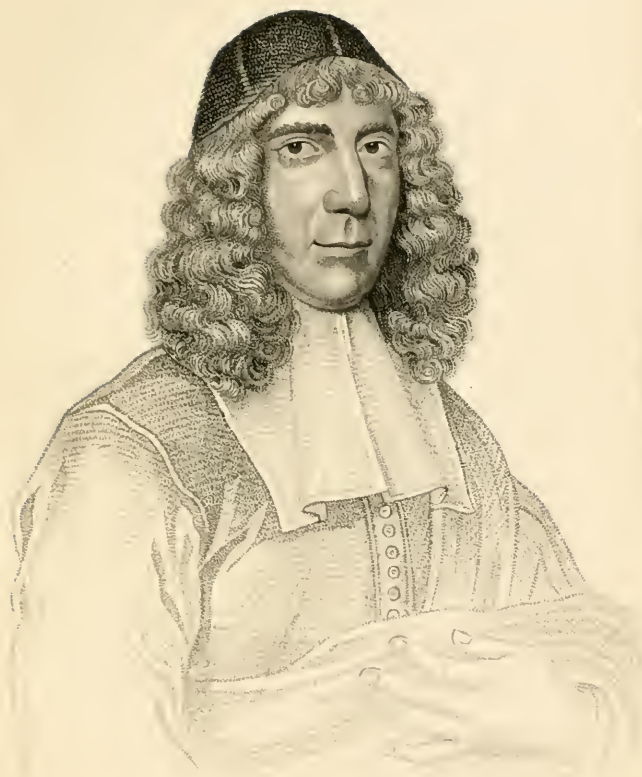
³ Here read sprinkling, or sprinkeling. Philip Nye was a most virulent dissenting teacher, zealous against the king and bishops beyond most of his brethren. He went on purpose into Scotland to expedite the covenant, and preached before the houses in England, when that



R Cooper sculp'

EDMUND SPENSER.

From a Portrait by White



R.Cooper sculp^r

JOHN OWEN.

from a Print by Verelst.



AS OXERAM BYFIELD.

from an unique 'cut' in the Collection at Strawberry Hill

Their dispensations had been stifled,
 But for our Adoniram Byfield ;¹ 640
 And had they not begun the war,
 They 'ad ne'er been sainted as they are :²
 For saints in peace degenerate,
 And dwindle down to reprobate ;
 Their zeal corrupts, like standing water, 645
 In th' intervals of war and slaughter ;
 Abates the sharpness of its edge,
 Without the pow'r of sacrilege :³
 And tho' they 've tricks to cast their sins,
 As easy as serpents do their skins,⁴ 650
 That in a while grow out agen,
 In peace they turn mere carnal men,
 And from the most refin'd of saints,
 As nat'rally grow miscreants
 As barnacles turn soland geese 655
 In th' islands of the Orcades.⁵

obligation was taken by them. He was at first a presbyterian, and one of the assembly : but afterward joined the independents. At the restoration, it was debated by the healing parliament, for several hours, whether he should not be excepted from life. Doctor Owen was a great stickler on the independent side, and in great credit with Cromwell and his party. He was preferred by them to the deanery of Christchurch, in Oxford. The Biographical Dictionary in 8vo. says, that, re-1654, being vice-chancellor, he offered to represent the university in parliament ; and, to remove the objection of his being a divine, in nounced his orders, and pleaded that he was a layman. He was returned ; but his election being questioned in the committee, he sat only a short time.

¹ Byfield was a noted presbyterian, chaplain to colonel Cholmondely's regiment, in the earl of Essex's army, and one of the scribes to the assembly of divines. Afterwards he became minister of Collingborn, in Wilts, and assistant to the commissioners in ejecting scandalous ministers.

² Had not the divines, on the presbyterian side, fomented the differences, the independents had never come in play, or been taken notice of.

³ That is, if they have not the power and opportunity of committing sacrilege, by plundering the church lands.

⁴ *Positis novus exuviis, nitidusque juvena.* . Georg. iii. 437.

⁵ Our poet was too good a naturalist to suppose that a shell-fish would turn to a goose : but in this place, as in many others, he means to banter some of the papers published by the first establishers of the Royal Society. In the twelfth volume of the Philosophical Transactions,

Their dispensation's but a ticket
 For their conforming to the wicked,
 With whom their greatest difference
 Lies more in words and shew, than sense: 660

No. 137, p. 925, sir Robert Moray gives an account of barnacles hanging upon trees, and containing each of them a little bird, so completely formed, that nothing appeared wanting, as to the external parts, for making up a perfect sea-fowl: the little bill, like that of a goose; the eyes marked; the head, neck, breast, and wings, tail and feet formed; the feathers every way perfectly shaped, and blackish coloured; and the feet like those of other water fowls. See the *Lepas anatifera*, Lin. Syst. 668. My friend, Mr. Pennant, observes, (*British Zoology*, vol. iv. No. 9.) that the animal is furnished with a feathered beard, which, in a credulous age, was believed to be part of a young bird; it is a native of hot climates, and found adhering to the bottoms of ships. Heylin says, they are bred in the isle of Man from rotten wood thrown into the water. The same is mentioned by Camden, and by old Gerard in his *Herbal*, who gives a print of the goose itself in p. 1587, with a cluster of the shells called *Lepas anatifera*, or barnacle shells, which he calls *Conchæ anatiferae Britannicæ*, and by the wise naturalists of the 16th century were thought to generate the birds, which hung for a while by the bill, then fell into the sea, and grew to maturity: they did not, like our poet, make the tree goose a soland goose, but the goose called the barnacle. *British Zoology*, ii. 269. Sir John Mandevile, in his *Voyages*, ch. 84. says, "In my country there are trees that do bear fruit that become birds flying, and they are good to eat, and that which falls in the water lives, and that which falls on the earth dies." ed. London, 1722. Hector Boetius, in his *History of Scotland*, tells us of a goose-bearing tree, as it is called in the *Orcades*: that is, one whose leaves falling into the water, are turned to those geese which are called soland geese, and found in prodigious numbers in those parts. Thus the poet Dubartas:

So slow Bootes underneath him sees
 In th' icy islands, goslings hatch'd of trees,
 Whose fruitful leaves falling into the water
 Are turn'd ('tis known) to living fowl soon after.

Again:

So rotten planks of broken ships do change
 To barnacles. Oh! transformation strange!
 'Twas first a green tree, then a broken hull,
 Lately a mushroom, now a flying gull.

The poet seems to have taken something from each of these stories. In Moore's *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, p. 54, we read: "This evening, December 18, 1730, I supped upon oysters which grew upon trees. Down the river (Gambia) where the water is salt, and near the sea, the river is bounded with trees called mangroves, whose leaves being long and heavy weigh the boughs into the water. To these leaves the young oysters fasten in great quantities, where they grow till they are very large; and then you cannot separate them from the tree, but are obliged to cut off the boughs: The oysters hanging on them resemble a rope of onions." Mr. Francis Moore,

For as the Pope, that keeps the gate
 Of heaven, wears three crowns of state ; ¹
 So he that keeps the gates of hell,
 Proud Cerb'rus, wears three heads as well : ²
 And, if the world has any troth, ³ 665
 Some have been canoniz'd in both.
 But that which does them greatest harm,
 Their sp'ritual gizzards are too warm, ⁴
 Which puts the overheated sots
 In fevers still, like other goats ; ⁵ 670
 For tho' the whore bends hereticks
 With flames of fire, like crooked sticks, ⁶
 Our schismatics so vastly differ,
 Th' hotter they 're they grow the stiffer ;
 Still setting off their sp'ritual goods, 675
 With fierce and pertinacious feuds :
 For zeal's a dreadful termagant,
 That teaches saints to tear and rant,
 And independents to profess
 The doctrine of dependences ; 680

son of a writing-master at Worcester, was many years a factor in the service of the African Company, and travelled five hundred miles up the river Gambia. These oysters are found in Jamaica, and many other places.

¹ The pope, pretending to have the power of the keys, is called janitor ecclesiæ. The tiara or triple crown is a badge of papal dignity.

² Cerberus hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci

Personat —

Æneis vi. 417.

³ Many bad as well as good men have been honoured with the title of saints.

⁴ Persons are said to have a broiling in their gizzards when they stomach any thing very much.

⁵ Capras sanas sanus nemo promittet, nunquam enim sine febre sunt. Varro ii. 3. 5. Columella says they are extremely sickly. And Plutarch ii. p. 290, that they are subject to epilepsies. In the notes on Varro, it is observed that the learned Cotelier was suckled by a she-goat, and in consequence was a valetudinary through life, subject to melancholy, and scarcely ever without a fever.

⁶ The pope of Rome is, by some, thought to be the same with the whore of Babylon mentioned in the Revelations : and the Romanists are said to have attempted the conversion of infidels by means of fire and faggots, as men made crooked sticks straight by fire and steam.

Turns meek, and secret, sneaking ones,¹
 To raw-heads fierce, and bloody-bones;
 And not content with endless quarrels
 Against the wicked, and their morals,
 The Gibellines, for want of Guelfs,² 685
 Divert their rage upon themselves.
 For now the war is not between
 The brethren and the men of sin,
 But saint and saint to spill the blood
 Of one another's brotherhood, 690
 Where neither side can lay pretence
 To liberty of conscience,³
 Or zealous suff'ring for the cause,
 To gain one groat's worth of applause;
 For tho' endur'd with resolution, 695
 'Twill ne'er amount to persecution;
 Shall precious saints, and secret ones,
 Break one another's outward bones,⁴
 And eat the flesh of brethren,
 Instead of kings and mighty men? 700
 When fiends agree among themselves,⁵
 Shall they⁶ be found the greater elves?
 When Bell's at union with the Dragon,
 And Baal Peor friends with Dagon;
 When savage bears agree with bears,⁷ 705
 Shall secret ones lug saints by th' ears,

¹ In some editions we have a better reading thus:

Turns meek, and sneaking secret ones.

² These names of distinction were first made use of at Pistoia, where, when the magistrates expelled the Panzaticchi, there chanced to be two brothers, Germans, one of whom named Guelf was for the pope, the other, Gibel, for the emperor. The spirit of these parties raged with violence in Italy and Germany.

³ That is, not having granted liberty of conscience.

⁴ A sneer upon the canting abuse of Scripture phrases, alluding to Psalm ii. v. 9, thus again l. 328 of this canto: the same may be said of lines 326 and 700.

⁵ O shame to men! devil with devil damn'd

Firm concord holds——

Paradise Lost, ii. 496.

⁶ *They*, that is the saints, see v. 689, 697.

⁷ ——stævis inter se convenit ursis.

Juv. Sat. xv. 164.

And not atone their fatal wrath,¹
 When common danger threatens both?
 Shall mastiffs, by the collars pull'd,
 Engag'd with bulls, let go their hold; 710
 And saints, whose necks are pawn'd at stake,²
 No notice of the danger take;
 But tho' no pow'r of heav'n or hell
 Can pacify fanatic zeal,
 Who would not guess there might be hopes, 715
 The fear of gallowses and ropes
 Before their eyes might reconcile
 Their animosities a while.
 At least until they 'ad a clear stage,
 And equal freedom to engage, 720
 Without the danger of surprise
 By both our common enemies?³
 This none but we alone could doubt,⁴
 Who understood their workings-out,
 And know 'em both in soul and conscience, 725
 Giv'n up t' as reprobate a nonsense⁵
 As spiritual out-laws, whom the pow'r
 Of miracle can ne'er restore.
 We, whom at first they set up under,
 In revelation only of plunder, 730
 Who since have had so many trials
 Of their encroaching self-denials,⁶

¹ *Atone*, that is, reconcile, see v. 717.

² That is, *and saints*, whose all is at stake, as they are to be hanged if things do not take a friendly turn. See v. 716.

³ That is, by the common enemies of us both.

⁴ None but we alone could doubt that the fear of gallowses might reconcile their animosities, &c.

⁵ Given up to a state of reprobation and guidance of their own folly, like persons under such an irrevocable sentence of excommunication, that even their power of working miracles would never avail to gain them absolution, and reinstate them.

⁶ The independents got rid of the presbyterian leaders by the self-denying ordinance.

That rook'd upon us with design ¹
 To out-reform and undermine ;
 Took all our int'rests and commands 735
 Perfidiously out of our hands ;
 Involv'd us in the guilt of blood,
 Without the motive gains allow'd, ²
 And made us serve as ministerial,
 Like younger sons of father Belial. 740
 And yet, for all th' inhuman wrong
 Th' had done us, and the cause so long,
 We never fail'd to carry on
 The work still, as we had begun :
 But true and faithfully obey'd, 745
 And neither preach'd them hurt, nor pray'd ;
 Nor troubled them to crop our ears,
 Nor hang us, like the cavaliers ;
 Nor put them to the charge of jails,
 To find us pill'ries and carts-tails, 750
 Or hangman's wages, which the state
 Was forc'd, before them, to be at ;
 That cut, like tallies, to the stumps,
 Our ears for keeping true accompts, ³
 And burnt our vessels, like a new- 755
 Seal'd peck, or bushel, for being true ;
 But hand in hand, like faithful brothers,
 Held forth the cause against all others,
 Disdaining equally to yield
 One syllable of what we held. 760

¹ That played the cheat.

² That is, without allowing us the gains which were the motives to such actions.

³ Tallies are corresponding notches which traders make on sticks : they are planed away when the accompts are allowed, or liquidated. The meaning seems to be, the state before the public confusion made us suffer for keeping true accounts, or for being true, cutting our ears like tallies, and branding the vessels of our bodies like a measure with the mark fresh upon it : the tallies so cut as keeping true accounts : the

And though we differ'd now and then
 'Bout outward things, and outward men,
 Our inward men, and constant frame
 Of spirit still were near the same ;
 And till they first began to cant, 765
 And sprinkle down the covenant,
 We ne'er had call in any place,
 Nor dream'd of teaching down free grace ;
 But join'd our gifts perpetually,
 Against the common enemy, 770
 Although 'twas ours, and their opinion,
 Each other's church was but a Rimmon.¹
 And yet, for all this gospel-union,
 And outward shew of church-communion,
 They'll ne'er admit us to our shares 775
 Of ruling church, or state affairs,
 Nor give us leave t' absolve, or sentence
 T' our own conditions of repentance :
 But shar'd our dividend o' th' crown,
 We had so painfully preach'd down ; 780
 And forc'd us, tho' against the grain,
 T' have calls to teach it up again.²
 For 'twas but justice to restore
 The wrongs we had receiv'd before ;

measure so sealed, or branded, as being a true one : this suits with the character of Lilbourn. See note on line 421. London and other towns have the power of examining weights and measures, and usually put their seal upon such as are true and just, which are thence called sealed weights, and sealed measures.

¹ A Syrian idol. See 2 Kings, v. 18. And Paradise Lost, i. 467 :

Him followed Rimmon, whose delightful seat

Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks

Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid streams.

The meaning is, that in our and their opinion, church communion with each other, was a like case with that of Naaman's bowing himself in the house of Rimmon, equally laying both under the necessity of a petition for pardon : the independents knew that their tenets were so opposite to those of the presbyterians, that they could not coalesce, and therefore concealed them, till they were strong enough to declare them.

² The presbyterians entered into several plots to restore the king. For it was but justice, said they, to repair the injuries we had received

And when 'twas held forth in our way, 785
 We 'ad been ungrateful not to pay :
 Who for the right we 've done the nation,
 Have earn'd our temporal salvation,
 And put our vessels in a way,
 Once more to come again in play : 790
 For if the turning of us out,
 Has brought this providence about,
 And that our only suffering
 Is able to bring in the king, ¹
 What would our actions not have done, 795
 Had we been suffer'd to go on ?
 And therefore may pretend t' a share, ²
 At least, in carrying on th' affair :
 But whether that be so, or not,
 We 've done enough to have it thought, 800
 And that's as good as if we 'ad done 't,
 And easier past upon account :
 For if it be but half deny'd,
 'Tis half as good as justify'd.
 The world is naturally averse 805
 To all the truth it sees or hears,
 But swallows nonsense and a lie,
 With greediness and gluttony ;
 And tho' it have the pique, and long,
 'Tis still for something in the wrong : ³ 810

from the independents ; and when monarchy was offered to be restored in our own sense, and with all the limitations we desired, it had been ungrateful not to consent.

¹ Many of the presbyterians, says lord Clarendon, when outed of their preferment, or secluded from their house of commons by the independents, pretended to make a merit of it, in respect of their loyalty. And some of them had the confidence to present themselves to king Charles the second, both before and after his restoration, as sufferers for the crown ; though they had been violent sticklers against it : this, their behaviour, our poet ridicules in many places of this canto.

² To make out the grammatical construction, this verse must be connected with verse 790.

³ *Pica* is a depraved appetite, or desire of improper food to which pregnant women, or sickly females, are sometimes subject.

As women long when they 're with child,
For things extravagant and wild ;
For meats ridiculous and fulsome,
But seldom any thing that's wholesome ;
And, like the world, men's jobbernoles 815
Turn round upon their ears, the poles ; ¹
And what they 're confidently told,
By no sense else can be controll'd.

And this, perhaps, may be the means
Once more to hedge in providence. 820
For as relapses make diseases
More desp'rate than their first accesses ;
If we but get again in pow'r,
Our work is easier than before ;
And we more ready and expert 825
I' th' mystery, to do our part :
We, who did rather undertake
The first war to create, than make ; ²
And when of nothing 'twas begun, ³
Rais'd funds as strange, to carry 't on : 830
Trepann'd the state, and fac'd it down,
With plots and projects of our own :
And if we did such feats at first,
What can we now we 're better vers'd ?
Who have a freer latitude 835
Than sinners give themselves, allow'd ;
And therefore likeliest to bring in,
On fairest terms, our discipline ;
To which it was reveal'd long since
We were ordain'd by Providence, 840
When three saints' ears, our predecessors,
The cause's primitive confessors, ⁴

¹ Men's *heads* are turned with the lies and nonsense which they hear, and attend to. See v. 1008.

² By creating war, he means, finding pretences for it, stirring up and fomenting it. By making war, he means waging and carrying it on.

³ Upon no occasion or provocation.

⁴ Burton, Prynne and Bastwick, three busy writers at the beginning

B'ing crucify'd, the nation stood
 In just so many years of blood, ¹
 That, multiply'd by six, express'd
 The perfect number of the beast, ²
 And prov'd that we must be the men
 To bring this work about agen ;

845

of the civil war, were set in the pillory, and had their ears cropt. Hence the poet jocosely calls them primitive confessors. The severe sentence which was passed on these persons, and on Leighton, contributed much to inflame the minds of men, and to incense them against the bishops, the star-chamber, and the government.

¹ The civil war lasted six years, from 1642, till the death of the king in 1648-9.

² Alluding to Revelations, ch. xiii. 18. "Here is wisdom. Let him " that hath understanding count the number of the beast : for it is the " number of a man ; and his number is six hundred threescore and six." The multiplication of three units by six, gives three sixes, and the juxta position of three sixes makes 666, or, which comes to the same thing—three units placed by the side of each other (111) is one hundred and eleven, which, multiplied by (6) six, is equal to (666) six hundred sixty-six, the number of the beast. This mysterious number and name excited the curiosity of mankind so early, that even in the second century, Irenæus started various conjectures on the subject. He supposes the name may be Evanthas, Lateinos, Teitan, &c. which last he prefers. But he adds, with a modesty ill imitated by later expositors—"Yet, I venture not to pronounce positively concerning the name of " antichrist : for, had it been intended to be openly proclaimed to the " present generation, it would have been uttered by the same person " who saw the revelation." Fevardent discovered this number in the name of Martin Luther, which originally, he says, was Martin Lauter.*

* From Fevardent's Notes on Irenæus, l. v. c. 30. p. 437. ed. Paris. folio, A.D. 1675. Initio vocabatur *Martin Lauter* ; cujus nominis literas si Pythagorice et ratione subducas et more Hebræorum et Græcorum alphabeti crescat numerus, primo monadum, deinde decadum hinc centuriarum, numerus nominis Bestiæ, id est, 666, tandem perfectum comperies, hoc pacto.

M	30	L	20	300 5 10 300 1 50 T E I T A N Equal to 666.
A	1	A	1	
R	80	U	200	
T	100	T	100	
I	9	E	5	
N	40	R	80	

I can make nothing of Luther, nor of the Greek alphabet ; but let me read Lauter, and make numerals of the Latin alphabet, and then things will fadge or fit. Other names applicable to Antichrist, collected by Fevardent from various authors are :

1 Εὐανθὺς	2 Λατεινός	3 Τείταν
4 Ἀπρουμαί	5 Λαμπέτις	6 Ο Νικητής
7 Κακὸς ὁδηγός	8 Ἀληθὴς βλαβερὸς	

And those who laid the first foundation,
 Compleat the thorough reformation : 850
 For who have gifts to carry on
 So great a work, but we alone ?
 What churches have such able pastors,
 And precious, powerful, preaching masters ?
 Possess'd with absolute dominions 855
 O'er brethren's purses and opinions,
 And trusted with the double keys
 Of heav'n, and their warehouses ;
 Who, when the cause is in distress,
 Can furnish out what sums they please, 860

That this mark of Antichrist engaged the attention of the sectaries. will appear by the following quotation from the pretended posthumous works of Mr. Butler, in the character of an assembly man. "O how they have torn poor bishops names to pick out the number 666. "Little dreaming that an whole baker's dozen of thcir own assembly "have that beastly number in each of their names: and that as exactly "as their solemn league and covenant consists of 666 words." Or from the character of an hermetic philosopher, written by Butler himself: "By this means they have found out who is the true owner of the "beast in the apocalypse, which has long passed for a stray among the "learned; what is the true product of 666, that has rung like Whittington's bells in the ears of expositors." But some have thought that this passage alludes not to the apocalyptic, but to the independent beast, and explain it thus: "*In just three years of blood*, for the king set "up his standard in August 1642, and the battle of Naseby was fought "in June 1645, which proved the deciding battle," says Ludlow, "the "king's party after that time never making any considerable opposition, which three bloody years, thus answering to three confessors, "being multiplied by six, the number of their crucified ears, expressed "the perfect number of years in which the independent beast should "prevail, namely 18, reckoning from the commencement of the war to "the restoration."

9 Παλαι βασκανος

10 Αμνος υδικος

11 Αντεμος

12 Γενσηρικος

The three first Greek names are proposed by Irenæus. Fevardent prefers Maometis to them all.

Irenæus's rational reflections on the whole is luckily preserved in the original Greek (for in general only a barbarous Latin version of this father remains) by Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. v. 8.

Ἠμεῖς οὖν οὐκ ἀποκινδυνεύομεν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Αντιχρίστου ὑποφαίνόμενοι βεβαιωτικῶς. Εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἀναφανδὸν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ, εἰ' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐρρέθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος.

That brooding lie in bankers' hands,
 To be dispos'd at their commands ;
 And daily increase and multiply,
 With doctrine, use, and usury :
 Can fetch in parties, as in war 865
 All other heads of cattle are,
 From th' enemy of all religions,
 As well as high and low conditions,
 And share them, from blue ribbons down
 To all blue aprons in the town ; ¹ 870
 From ladies hurry'd in calleches,
 With cornets at their footmen's breeches, ²
 The bawds as fat as mother Nab, ³
 All guts and belly, like a crab.
 Our party's great, and better ty'd 875
 With oaths, and trade, than any side ; ⁴
 Has one considerable improvement,
 To double-fortify the cov'nant ;
 I mean our covenant to purchase ⁵
 Delinquents' titles, and the church's, 880
 That pass in sale, from hand to hand,
 Among ourselves, for current land,
 And rise or fall, like Indian actions,
 According to the rate of factions ;
 Our best reserve for reformation, 885
 When new outgoings give occasion ;

¹ Tradesmen and their apprentices took a very active part in the troubles, both by preaching and fighting.

² Calleche, calash, or chariot. Cornets were ornaments which servants wore upon their breeches ; though some critics would read coronets.

³ Ladies of this profession are generally described as coarse and fat. The orator means, that the leaders of the faction could fetch in parties of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, from lady Carlisle to the lowest mechanic in a blue apron.

⁴ The strength of the presbyterian party lay in the covenanters, and the citizens.

⁵ In the first line, the word cov'nant is two syllables, in the second

That keeps the loins of brethren girt,
 Their covenant, their creed, t' assert ; ¹
 And, when they've pack'd a parliament,
 Will once more try th' expedient : 890
 Who can already muster friends,
 To serve for members to our ends,
 That represent no part o' th' nation,
 But Fisher's-folly congregation ; ²
 Are only tools to our intrigues, 895
 And sit like geese to hatch our eggs ;
 Who, by their precedents of wit,
 T' outfast, outloiter, and outsit, ³
 Can order matters under-hand,
 To put all bus'ness to a stand ; 900
 Lay public bills aside, for private,
 And make 'em one another drive out ;

line it is three. Where one word ends with a vowel, and the next begins with one, Butler either leaves them as two syllables, or contracts them into one, as best suits his verse. Where a vowel is a word by itself, it is sometimes, perhaps,* not reckoned in scanning. See P. i. c. ii. v. 705, and P. ii. c. ii. v. 670.

¹ A lay preacher at Banbury said, "We know, O Lord, that Abraham made a covenant, and Moses and David made a covenant, and our Saviour made a covenant, but the parliament's covenant is the greatest of all covenants." The marquis of Hamilton being sent into Scotland to appease the troubles there, demanded of the Scotch that they should renounce the covenant; they answered, that they would sooner renounce their baptism.

² Jasper Fisher, one of the six clerks in chancery, spent his fortune in laying out magnificent gardens, and building a fine house; which, therefore, was called Fisher's Folly. It was afterwards used as a conventicle; perhaps of quakers. See Fuller's Worthies, p. 197, and Stowe's Survey. The place where the house stood is now Devonshire-square, in the city. Here is an equivocal on the word *represent*. It means either to stand in the place of, and be substituted by others, or to resemble, and be like them. In the first sense, the members they should pack, would represent their constituents; but in the latter sense, only a meeting of enthusiastic sectaries.

³ By these arts and methods, the leaders on the parliament side, defeated the purposes of the loyalists, and carried such points in the house as were disagreeable to the sober part, and indeed, to the majority. Thus the remonstrance was carried, as lord Clarendon says, merely by the hour of the night; the debates being continued till two o'clock, and very many having withdrawn out of pure faintness and disability to

Divert the great and necessary,
 With trifles to contest and vary
 And make the nation represent, 905
 And serve for us in parliament;
 Cut out more work than can be done
 In Plato's year,¹ but finish none,
 Unless it be the bulls of Lenthal,
 That always pass'd for fundamental : ² 910
 Can set up grandee against grandee,
 To squander time away, and bandy ;
 Make lords and commoners lay sieges
 To one another's privileges ;
 And, rather than compound the quarrel, 915
 Engage, to th' inevitable peril
 Of both their ruins, th' only scope
 And consolation of our hope ;
 Who, tho' we do not play the game,
 Assist as much by giving aim ; ³ 920
 Can introduce our ancient arts,
 For heads of factions t' act their parts ;
 Know what a leading voice is worth,
 A seconding, a third, or fourth ;
 How much a casting voice comes to, 925
 That turns up trump of Ay, or No ;

attend the conclusion. The bill against episcopacy, and others, were carried by out-fasting, and out-sitting those who opposed it : which made lord Falkland say, that they who hated bishops, hated them worse than the devil, and they who loved them, loved them not so well as their own dinners.

¹ The Platonic year, or time required for a complete revolution of the entire machine of the world, has by some been made to consist of 4000 common years : others have thought it must extend to 26,000, or still more. *Magnus annus tum efficitur, cum solis, et lunæ, et quinque errantium, ad eandem inter se comparationem confectis omnium spatiis est facta conversio. Quæ quam longa sit, magna quæstio est.* Cicero de Nat. Deor. ii. 20.

² The ordinances published by the house of commons were signed by Lenthal, the speaker : and are therefore called the bulls of Lenthal. They may be termed fundamentals, because many of them were issued by order of the rump parliament.

³ Or in the bowler's phrase, by *giving ground*.



R. Cooper sculp

WILLIAM LENTHALL.

Speaker of the House of Commons

from a Miniature by Cooper

And, by adjusting all at th' end,
 Share ev'ry one his dividend.
 An art that so much study cost,
 And now's in danger to be lost, 930
 Unless our ancient virtuosos,
 That found it out, get into th' houses.
 These are the courses that we took
 To carry things by hook or crook, ¹
 And practis'd down from forty-four, 935
 Until they turn'd us out of door: ²
 Besides the herds of Bouteefeus
 We set on work, without the house,
 When ev'ry knight and citizen
 Kept legislative journeymen, 940
 To bring them in intelligence,
 From all points of the rabble's sense,
 And fill the lobbies of both houses
 With politic important buzzes ;
 Set up committees of cabals, ³ 945
 To pack designs without the walls ;
 Examine and draw up all news,
 And fit it to our present use ;

¹ Crook and Hutton were the only judges who dissented from their brethren, when the case of ship-money was argued in the exchequer : which occasioned the wags to say, that the king carried it by Hook, but not by Crook : Dr. Grey on the passage ; but the saying is of much older date, and only applied as a pun by Butler, and the wits of the reign of Charles the first. We find it used by Skelton, and by Spenser frequently, B. v. c. i. st. 27.

“ The which her sire had scrapt by hooke and crooke ;
 and again, B. iii. c. i. st. 17 :

“ In hopes her to attaine by hooke or crooke.”

[The fact is that *hook* is the same as *crook*. See our old Dictionaries. The original meaning, therefore, was, either in one form or the other. Todd. Minshew explains it *per fas aut nefas*.]

² From the time of the self-denying ordinance 1644, when the presbyterians were turned out from all places of profit and power ; till December 7, 1648, when they were turned out of the parliament-house by colonel Pride, forty-one members seized by the soldiers, and one hundred and sixty excluded.

³ The poet probably alludes to the ministers of Charles the second,

Agree upon the plot o' th' farce,
 And ev'ry one his part rehearse ; 950
 Make Q's of answers, to way-lay
 What th' other party's like to say ; ¹
 What repartees, and smart reflections,
 Shall be return'd to all objections ;
 And who shall break the master jest, 955
 And what, and how, upon the rest ;
 Help pamphlets out, with safe editions,
 Of proper slanders and seditions,
 And treason for a token send,
 By letter, to a country friend ; 960
 Disperse lampoons, the only wit
 That men, like burglary commit,
 With falser than a padder's face,
 That all its owner does betrays ;
 Who therefore dares not trust it, when 965
 He's in his calling, to be seen. ²
 Disperse the dung on barren earth,
 To bring new weeds of discord forth ;
 Be sure to keep up congregations,
 In spite of laws and proclamations : 970
 For charlatans can do no good,
 Until they 're mounted in a crowd ;
 And when they 're punish'd, all the hurt
 Is but to fare the better for't ;
 As long as confessors are sure 975
 Of double pay for all th' endure, ³
 And what they earn in persecution,
 Are paid t' a groat in contribution :

the initials of whose names made up the word cabal, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, Lauderdale.

¹ Prisoners in Newgate, and other gaols, have often sham-examinations, to prepare them with answers for their real trials.

² Padders, or highwaymen, frequently cover their faces with a mask or piece of crape.

³ Alluding to the three persons before-mentioned, Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, who, having been pilloried, fined, and banished to differ-

Whence some tub-holdersforth have made
 In powd'ring tubs their richest trade ; 980
 And, while they kept their shops in prison,
 Have found their prices strangely risen.¹
 Disdain to own the least regret
 For all the christian blood we 've let ;
 'Twill save our credit, and maintain 985
 Our title to do so again ;
 That needs not cost one dram of sense,
 But pertinacious impudence.
 Our constancy t' our principles,
 In time will wear out all things else ; 990
 Like marble statues, rubb'd in pieces
 With gallantry of pilgrims' kisses ;²
 While those who turn and wind their oaths,
 Have swell'd and sunk, like other froths ;

rent parts of the kingdoms, by the sentence of the star-chamber, were by the parliament afterward recalled, and rewarded out of the estates of those who had punished them. In their way back to London they were honoured with loud acclamations, and received many presents.

——— silenc'd ministers,
 That get estates by being undone
 For tender conscience, and have none :
 Like those that with their credit drive
 A trade without a stock, and thrive.

Butler's Remains, vol. i. p. 63.

¹ Probably powdering-tubs here signifies prisons. See P. iii. c. iii. l. 210. When any one is in a bad scrape, he is said to be in a pretty pickle. See P. ii. c. i. v. 366. [Ancient Pistol throws some light upon this passage when he bids Nym

" to the spital go,
 " And from the *powdering tub* of infamy
 " Fetch forth the lazar kite of Cressid's kind,
 " Doll Tearsheet she by name, and her espouse."

Butler may mean that some of the tub-holdersforth kept houses of ill fame, from whence the transit to the powdering tub was frequent. Such persons are also not unfrequently sent to prison, and persecution has ever the effect of raising the *prices* of the doctrines of the persecuted.]

² Round the Casa Santa of Loretto, the marble is worn into a deep channel, by the knees and kisses of the pilgrims and others. [The statues both of gods and saints have been, and are, worn by the touch of their votaries ; of the former the knees were the suffering parts.]

Prevail'd a while, but 'twas not long 995
 Before from world to world they swung ;
 As they had turn'd from side to side,
 And as the changelings liv'd, they dy'd.
 This said, th' impatient statesmonger
 Could now contain himself no longer, ¹ 1000
 Who had not spar'd to shew his piques ²
 Against th' haranguer's politics,
 With smart remarks of leering faces,
 And annotations of grimaces.
 After he had administer'd a dose ³ 1005
 Of snuff mundungus to his nose,
 And powder'd th' inside of his skull,
 Instead of th' outward jobbernoil, ⁴
 He shook it with a scornful look,
 On th' adversary, and thus he spoke : 1010
 In dressing a calf's head, altho'
 The tongue and brains together go,
 Both keep so great a distance here,
 'Tis strange if ever they come near ;
 For who did ever play his gambols 1015
 With such insufferable rambles,
 To make the bringing in the king,
 And keeping of him out, one thing ?
 Which none could do, but those that swore
 T' as point-blank nonsense heretofore ; 1020
 That to defend was to invade,
 And to assassinate to aid : ⁵

¹ As the former orator, whoever he was, had harangued on the side of the presbyterians, his antagonist, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, now smartly inveighs against them, and justifies the principles and conduct of the independents.

² His aversion or antipathy.

³ Some editions read, *minister'd a dose*.

⁴ That is, thick skull, stupid head, from the Flemish, *jobbe*, *insulsus*, *ignavus*, and the Ang. Sax. *enoll*, *vertex*.

⁵ This alludes to Ralph, who was charged with intention to kill the king when imprisoned in the isle of Wight. Lord Clarendon, vol. iii.

Unless, because you drove him out,
 And that was never made a doubt ;
 No pow'r is able to restore 1025
 And bring him in, but on your score :
 A sp'ritual doctrine, that conduces
 Most properly to all your uses.
 'Tis true, a scorpion's oil is said
 To cure the wounds the vermin made ; ¹ 1030
 And weapons, dress'd with salves, restore
 And heal the hurts they gave before : ²
 But whether presbyterians have
 So much good nature as the salve,
 Or virtue in them as the vermin, 1035
 Those who have try'd them can determine.
 Indeed 'tis pity you should miss
 Th' arrears of all your services,
 And for th' eternal obligation
 Y' have laid upon th' ungrateful nation, 1040
 B' us'd so unconscionably hard,
 As not to find a just reward,
 For letting rapine loose, and murther,
 To rage just so far, but no further : ³

p. 180, intimates that serjeant Wild, who was sent to Winchester to try the prisoner, gave an unfair charge to the jury, by saying : " There was " a time indeed when intentions and words were made treason ; but " God forbid it should be so now : how did any body know but that " those two men, Osborne and Doucet, would have made away with " the king, and that Ralph charged his pistol to preserve him." Perhaps the noble historian here shews something of party spirit.

¹ Dr. Mead, in his Essay on Poisons, says, viper-catchers, if they happen to be bitten by a viper, are so sure of being cured by rubbing the fat upon the place, that they fear a bite no more than they do the prick of a pin. The Doctor himself tried it upon dogs, and found it a sure remedy. He supposes the fat to involve, and, as it were, sheath the volatile salts of the venom. Prodest scorpius ipse suæ plagæ impositus. Pliny in his Natural History, 29. 29.

² According to sir Kenelm Digby's doctrine of sympathy.

³ Though the presbyterians began the war, yet they pretended they had no thoughts of occasioning that bloodshed and devastation which was consequent upon it. They intended to bring the king to reason, not to murder him. But it happened to them, as to the young magician

And setting all the land on fire, 1045
 To burn t' a scantling, but no higher :
 For vent'ring to assassinate,
 And cut the throats of church and state ;
 And not be allow'd the fittest men
 To take the charge of both agen : 1050
 Especially that have the grace
 Of self-denying gifted face ;
 Who, when your projects have miscarry'd,
 Can lay them, with undaunted forehead,
 On those you painfully trepann'd, 1055
 And sprinkled in at second hand ;
 As we have been, to share the guilt
 Of christian blood, devoutly spilt ;¹
 For so our ignorance was flamm'd
 To damn ourselves, t' avoid being damn'd ;²
 Till finding your old foe, the hangman,
 Was like to lurch you at backgammon,³
 And win your necks upon the set,
 As well as ours, who did but bet ;
 For he had drawn your ears before, 1065
 And nick'd them on the self-same score,
 We threw the box and dice away,
 Before y' had lost us at foul play ;

in Lucian, who, by certain words he had learned of his master, sent a fountain to fetch water ; the poor scholar, however, not recollecting the words to make it stop, the fountain went and fetched water without ceasing, till it filled the house up to the windows. A similar tale is related in verse by several poets, both French and English.

¹ The war was begun and carried on by the presbyterians with a great shew of godliness, for the sake of religion, and in defence of the gospel.

² To commit such damnable sins as robbery, rebellion, and murder, with a view of keeping out armnianism, popery, &c. which we were made to believe were likely to overspread the kingdom, and would be destructive to our salvation. Thus Martial, *Epig. lib. ii. 80.*

Hostem cum fugeret, se Fannius ipse peremit.

Hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriari, mori ?

³ Finding the king was likely to get the better of you, and that we

And brought you down to rook and lie,
 And fancy only on the by; ¹ 1070
 Redeem'd your forfeit jobbernoles,
 From perching upon lofty poles,
 And rescu'd all your outward traitors,
 From hanging up, like alligators; ²
 For which ingeniously ye 've shew'd 1075
 Your presbyterian gratitude;
 Would freely have paid us home in kind,
 And not have been one rope behind. ³
 Those were your motives to divide,
 And scruple, on the other side, ⁴ 1080
 To turn your zealous frauds, and force,
 To fits of conscience and remorse;

were all in danger of being hanged as traitors, we took the war from your hands into our own management.

¹ *By-bets* are bets made beside the game, often by standers-by: the presbyterians, from being principals in the cause, were reduced to make a secondary figure, and from playing the game became lookers-on.

² Alligators were frequently hung up in the shops of quacks, druggists, and apothecaries. Thus Romeo says of the Apothecary:

And in his needy shop a tortoise hung,
 An alligator stuft, and other skins
 Of ill shap'd fishes.

³ The Dissenters, when in power, were no enemies to persecution. See Dissenters Sayings, by sir Roger L'Estrange, Second Part, printed 1681. Edwards, in his Full Answer, p. 244, says: "A toleration of one or more different ways of churches and church government established, will be to this kingdom very mischievous, pernicious, and destructive." Love, in his sermon at Uxbridge, January 30, 1644, p. 26: "I have often thought that too much mercy towards malignants hath made more delinquents than ever justice punished." Marshall, to the commons, February 23, 1641: "He is a cursed man that withholds his hand from shedding of blood; or shall do it, as Saul did against the Amalekites, kill some, and save some." And Baxter, in his Preface to the Nonconformists Plea, "Liberty, in all matters of worship and of faith, is the open and apparent way to set up popery in the land." Calamy being asked, what he would do with those who differed from him in opinion, said, "He would not meddle with their consciences, only with their persons and estates."

⁴ He tells the presbyterians, that their jealousy of the independents caused them to discontinue their exertions, not any conviction of their having been in the wrong.

To be convinc'd they were in vain,
 And face about for new again ;
 For truth no more unveil'd your eyes, 1085
 Than maggots are convinc'd to flies : ¹
 And therefore all your lights and calls
 Are but apocryphal and false,
 To charge us with the consequences,
 Of all your native insolences, 1090
 That to your own imperious wills
 Laid law and gospel neck and heels ; ²
 Corrupted the Old Testament,
 To serve the New for precedent ;
 T' amend its errors and defects, 1095
 With murder and rebellion texts ; ³
 Of which there is not any one
 In all the book to sow upon ;
 And therefore, from your tribe, the Jews
 Held christian doctrine forth, and use ; 1100
 As Mahomet, your chief, began
 To mix them in the Alcoran ; ⁴
 Denounc'd and pray'd with fierce devotion,
 And bended elbows on the cushion ;

¹ The change was produced in them merely by the course of their nature. The edition of 1710 reads :

Than maggots when they turn to flies.

² Some persons have sought for a system of natural philosophy in the Old Testament, "inter viva quærentes mortua," as Lord Bacon says: who wisely adds "tantoque magis hæc vanitas inhibenda venit, "et coercenda, quia ex divinatorum et humanorum mulesana admistione, "non solum educitur philosophia phantastica, sed etiam religio hæretica." Novum organum, sect. lxxv. Others have there found, or thought they found, the sublimest doctrines of christianity. The famous Postellus observed, that there were eleven thousand proofs of the Trinity in the Old Testament, interpreted rightly, that is, *επιμολογιστικῶς καθεαλιστικῶς*.

³ The presbyterians, he says, finding no countenance for their purposes in the New Testament, took their measures of obedience from some instances of rebellion in the Old. The presbyterian printer, who printed the seventh commandment, Thou *shalt* commit adultery, was heavily fined for his blunder.

⁴ In his Pindaric Ode upon an hypocritical non-conformist, Remains, vol. i. p. 135, Mr. Butler says :



R Cooper sculp^r

SIR THOMAS LUNSFORD.

From an Unique Print in the British Museum.

Stole from the beggars all your tones, 1105
 And gifted mortifying groans ;
 Had lights where better eyes were blind,
 As pigs are said to see the wind ; ¹
 Fill'd Bedlam with predestination,
 And Knightsbridge with illumination ; ² 1110
 Made children, with your tones, to run for't,
 As bad as Bloodybones or Lunsford. ³
 While women, great with child, miscarry'd :
 For being to malignants marry'd :

For the Turks patriarch, Mahomet,
 Was the first great reformer, and the chief
 Of th' ancient christian belief,
 That mix'd it with new light and cheat,
 With revelations, dreams, and visions,
 And apostolic superstitions,
 To be held forth, and carry'd on by war :
 And his successor was a presbyter.

¹ Pigs have remarkable small eyes, and yet are said to be very sagacious in foretelling wind and weather. Thus, in a poem entitled *Hudibras at Court*, we read :

And now, as hogs can see the wind,
 And storms at distance coming find.

This observation occurs three times in the books falsely called the *Posthumous Works of Mr. Samuel Butler*, 4th edition, 1732. Plutarch remarks a peculiarity in pigs' eyes. They are so situated and constructed, that the animal cannot look upwards, and never hath a view of the heavens till he is thrown upon his back, and then, clamorous as he is, astonishment and terror silence him in an instant.

² At this village, near London, was a famous mad-house, to which the poet alludes.

³ Frightened children as much by your preaching, as if you had told them the dismal story of Rawhead and Bloodybones, or had related to them the cruelties, which you affirm were practised by colonel Lunsford. Colonel Lunsford, killed at Bristol, 1643, was a man of great sobriety, industry, and courage ; but his enemies painted him as a cruel brute. Sir Thomas Lunsford was made lieutenant of the Tower by the king, a little before the beginning of the war : but afterwards removed by him at the desire of the parliament. An order was made in the parliament for suppressing Lunsford and lord Digby, though at the same time all the cavalry they had was an hired coach and six horses. In the third act of sir Robert Howard's comedy of *The Committee*, the first Bailiff says :

O ! 'tis a bloody-minded man !

I'll warrant you this vile cavalier has eat many a child.

[Dr. Grey says : It was one of the artifices of the malcontents in the civil war to raise false alarms, and to fill the people full of frightful apprehensions. In particular they raised a terrible outcry of the imaginary danger they conceived from the lord Digby, and colonel Lunsford.

Transform'd all wives to Dalilahs, 1115
 Whose husbands were not for the cause; ¹
 And turn'd the men to ten-horn'd cattle,
 Because they came not out to battle; ²
 Made tailors' 'prentices turn heroes,
 For fear of being transform'd to Meroz, ³ 1120

Lilbourn glories upon his trial, for being an incendiary on such occasions, and mentions the tumult he raised against the innocent colonel, as a meritorious action; "I was once arraigned," says he, "before the house of peers, for sticking close to the liberties and priviledges of this nation, and those that stood for them, being one of those two or three men that first drew their swords in Westminster-hall against colonel Lunsford, and some scores of his associates. At that time it was supposed they intended to cut the throats of the chiefest men then sitting in the house of peers." And to render him the more odious, they reported that he was of so brutal an appetite, that he would eat children, (Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 286.) which scandalous insinuation is deservedly ridiculed in the following lines:

From Fielding, and from Vavasour,
 Both ill-affected men;
 From Lunsford eke deliver us,
 That eateth up children.

The Parliament Hymns, Collections of Loyal Songs, Vol. 1. No. 17. p. 38.

Cleveland banters them upon the same head;

The post that came from Banbury,
 Riding in a blue rocket,
 He swore he saw, when Lunsford fell,
 A child's arm in his pocket.

And to make this gentleman the more detestable, they made horrid pictures of him, as we learn from the following lines of Mr. Cleveland. Rupertismus, Works, 1677, p. 67.

"They fear the giblets of his train, they fear
 "Even his dog, that four-legg'd cavalier:
 "He that devours the scraps which Lunsford makes,
 "Whose picture feeds upon a child in stakes."

Mr. Gayton, in his banter of this idle opinion (see Notes on Don Quixote, book iii. chap. vi. p. 103.) calls Saturn, the very Lunsford of the deities.]

¹ If the husband sided not with the presbyterians, his wife was represented as insidious and a betrayer of her country's interests, such as Dalilah was to Samson and the Israelites. Judges xvi.

² Resembled them to the ten horns, or ten kings, who gave their power and strength to the beast. Revelations, xvii. 12. See also Daniel vii. v. 7. A cuckold is called a horned beast; a notorious cuckold may be called a ten-horned beast, there being no beast known with more horns than the beast in vision.

³ "Curse ye, Meroz," said the angel of the Lord; "Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of

And rather forfeit their indentures,
 Than not espouse the saints' adventures :
 Could transubstantiate, metamorphose,
 And charm whole herds of beasts, like Orpheus ; ¹
 Enchant the king's and church's lands, 1125
 'T' obey and follow your commands,
 And settle on a new freehold,
 As Marcle-hill had done of old : ²
 Could turn the cov'nant, and translate
 The gospel into spoons and plate ; 1130
 Expound upon all merchants' cashes,
 And open th' intricate places ;
 Could catechize a money-box,
 And prove all pouches orthodox ;
 Until the cause became a Damon, 1135
 And Pythias the wicked Mammon. ³
 And yet, in spite of all your charms
 To conjure legions up in arms,

"the Lord against the mighty." Judges v. 23. This was a favourite text with those who preached for the parliament: and it assisted them much in raising recruits.

¹ *Mulcentem tiges, et agentem carmine quercus.* Georg. iv. 510.

² Not far from Ledbury in Herefordshire, toward the conflux of the Lug and Wye, in the parish of Marcle, is a hill, which in the year 1575 moved to a considerable distance. Phillips in his *Cider* (p. 12. l. 810. ed. Dunster), speaking of Marcle-hill, says :

Deceitful ground, who knows but that once more
 The mount may journey, and his present site
 Forsaking, to thy neighbours bounds transfer
 The goodly plants, affording matter strange
 For law debates——

Camden, in his *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, book ii. p. 20. thinks the motion was occasioned by an earthquake, which he call *brasmatia* ; though the cause of it more probably was a subterraneous current. Some houses and a chapel were overturned. I remember an accident of this kind which happened near Grafton, on the side of Bredon-hill, and another near Broseley in Shropshire. A similar phenomenon was observed at Eroge, in Judea, in the time of king Uzziah, and is recorded by Josephus, lib. ix. cap. 11.

³ Until Mammon and the cause were as closely united, and as dear friends as Damon and Pythias, two persons whose friendship is celebrated by Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, and others. In Jamblichus's *Life of Pythagoras*, No. 234, this story is related at length from Aristox-

And raise more devils in the rout
 Than e'er y' were able to cast out, 1140
 Y' have been reduc'd, and by those fools,
 Bred up, you say, in your own schools,
 Who, tho' but gifted at your feet, ¹
 Have made it plain they have more wit,
 By whom you've been so oft' trepann'd, 1145
 And held forth out of all command :
 Out-gifted, out-impuls'd, out-done,
 And out-reveal'd at carryings-on ;
 Of all your dispensations worm'd,
 Out-providenc'd and out-reform'd ; 1150
 Ejected out of church and state,
 And all things but the people's hate ;
 And spirited out of th' enjoyments
 Of precious, edifying employments,
 By those who lodg'd their gifts and graces,
 Like better bowlers, in your places : 1155

enus, who heard it from the mouth of Dionysius himself, the tyrant concerned, after he was dispossessed of the sovereignty, and become a schoolmaster at Corinth. As it rests upon better authority than such narratives in general can appeal to, it is here abridged for the amusement of the reader. Though I must first observe, that the true name of one of those friends was not Pythias, but Phintias. See Porphy. in vita Pythagoræ, ult. p. 53. ed. Kuster. Tull. de Offic. iii. 10. and Lactantius, v. 17.—The courtiers of Dionysius the younger, tyrant of Sicily, contended in his presence, that the boasted virtues of the Pythagoreans, their determined spirit, their apathy, their firmness in friendship, were all mere illusions, which would vanish on the first appearance of danger or distress. To prove this assertion, they agreed to accuse Phintias, one of the sect, of a conspiracy against the sovereign. He was summoned before the tyrant, who informed him of the charge, and to his great surprise added, that there was the fullest evidence of his guilt, and he must die. Phintias replied, if it were so, he would only beg the respite of a few hours, while he might go home, and settle the common concerns of his friend Damon and himself: in the mean time, Damon would be security for his appearance. Dionysius assented to the proposal; and when Damon surrendered himself the courtiers all snickered, concluding, that he was become the dupe of his own credulity. But, on the return of Phintias in the evening, to release his bail, and submit to his sentence, they were quite astonished; and none more than the tyrant himself, who embraced the illustrious pair, and requested they would admit him to a share in their friendship.

¹

“ Bred up at the feet of Gamaliel.”

All which you bore with resolution,
Charg'd on th' account of persecution ;
And tho' most righteously oppress'd,
Against your wills, still acquiesc'd ; 1160
And never humm'd and hah'd sedition,
Nor snuffled treason, nor misprision :
That is, because you never durst ;
For had you preach'd and pray'd your worst,
Alas ! you were no longer able 1165
To raise your posse of the rabble :
One single redcoat sentinel
Outcharm'd the magic of the spell,
And, with his squirt-fire, ¹ could disperse
Whole troops with chapter rais'd and verse. 1170
We knew too well those tricks of yours,
To leave it ever in your powers,
Or trust our safeties, or undoings,
To your disposing of outgoings,
Or to your ordering providence, 1175
One farthing's worth of consequence.
For had you pow'r to undermine,
Or wit to carry a design,
Or correspondence to trepan,
Inveigle, or betray one man ; 1180
There's nothing else that intervenes,
And bars your zeal to use the means ;
And therefore wond'rous like, no doubt,
To bring in kings, or keep them out :
Brave undertakers to restore, 1185
That could not keep yourselves in pow'r ;
T' advance the int'rests of the crown,
That wanted wit to keep your own.
'Tis true you have, for I'd be loth
To wrong ye, done your parts in both ; 1190

¹ His musket, so called in the true spirit of burlesque.

To keep him out, and bring him in,
 As grace is introduc'd by sin : ¹
 For 'twas your zealous want of sense,
 And sanctify'd impertinence ;
 Your carrying bus'ness in a huddle, 1195
 That forc'd our rulers to new-model ;
 Oblig'd the state to tack about,
 And turn you, root and branch, all out ;
 To reformado, one and all,
 T' your great croisado general : ² 1200
 Your greedy slav'ring to devour, ³
 Before 'twas in your clutches' pow'r ;
 That sprung the game you were to set,
 Before ye 'ad time to draw the net :

¹ Thus Saint Paul to the Romans: "Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound?"

² The parliament, that they might not seem to continue the war from any regard to their own interest and advantage, passed a vote December 9, 1644, to prevent the members of either house from holding offices in the state. This was called the self-denying ordinance. The secret intention of it was, to lessen the influence of the presbyterians, which it soon effected, by depriving Essex, their general, and many others, of their employments. He calls him their croisado-general, because they pretended to engage in the war chiefly on account of religion: the holy war against the Turks and Saracens had the name of croisado, from the cross displayed on the banners. The old annotator, and after him Doctor Grey, tells us, that the general here designed was Fairfax. But neither the scope of the poet, nor the truth of history, will admit of this application of the passage. For the person who speaks is an independent, and he tells the presbyterian that the independents were obliged to turn out the presbyterians and their general. This suits exactly with Essex, who altogether espoused the presbyterian interest; and was laid aside, with the rest of the presbyterians, by the contrivance above mentioned. Whereas Fairfax, though he thought himself a presbyterian, as lord Clarendon says, was always linked with the independents, and executed their designs. He was first raised to the command by the intrigues of Cromwell and Ireton, because they knew him to be an easy man, one who would submit to their direction. Neither is it true, that Fairfax was dismissed. On the contrary, he laid down his commission, though Cromwell, Whitelock, and the heads of the party, desired him to keep his command, and a solemn conference was held with him, the particulars whereof may be seen in Whitelock's Memorial. The reader must constantly remember, that it is an independent here speaking, defending his sect against the former speaker, who was a presbyterian.

³ That is, letting your mouths greedily water.



R Cooper sculp^t

THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX.

From a Portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Your spite to see the church's lands
Divided into other hands,
And all your sacrilegious ventures
Laid out in tickets and debentures :
Your envy to be sprinkled down,
By under-churches in the town ; ¹
And no course us'd to stop their mouths,
Nor th' independents' spreading growths :
All which consider'd, 'tis most true
None bring him in so much as you,
Who have prevail'd beyond their plots, ²
Their midnight juntos, and seal'd knots ;
That thrive more by your zealous piques,
Than all their own rash politics.
And this way you may claim a share
In carrying, as you brag, th' affair, ¹²²⁰
Else frogs and toads, that croak'd the Jews
From Pharaoh and his brick-kilns loose,
And flies and mange, that set them free
From task-masters and slavery,
Were likelier to do the feat, ¹²²⁵
In any indiff'rent man's conceit :
For who e'er heard of restoration,
Until your thorough reformation ? ³
That is, the king's and church's lands
Were sequester'd int' other hands : ¹²³⁰
For only then, and not before,
Your eyes were open'd to restore ;
And when the work was carrying on,
Who cross'd it, but yourselves alone ?

¹ Your impatience under the disgrace of being out-preached by the independent teachers.

² The plots of the royalists, I think, are here meant, though in that sense the passage is not strictly grammatical.

³ The independent here charges the presbyterians with having no design of restoring the king, notwithstanding the merit they made of such intentions after the restoration, until they were turned out of all

As by a world of hints appears, 1235
All plain, and extant, as your ears.¹

But first, o' th' first: 'The isle of Wight
Will rise up, if you shou'd deny 't;
Where Henderson and th' other masses,²
Were sent to cap texts, and put cases : 1240

profit by sale of the crown and church lands, and that it was not their loyalty, but their disappointment and resentment against the independents, that made them think of treating with the king.

¹ May be spoken in ridicule, because many of the presbyterians had lost their ears in the pillory. Or the poet may recollect his "long ear'd rout." In Dryden's *Hind and Panther*, we have a similar allusion :

And pricks up his predestinating ears.

² That is, the other divines. Ministers in those days were called masters, as they are at the 854th line of this canto. One of this order would have been styled, not the reverend, but master, or master doctor such an one; and sometimes, for brevity's sake, and familiarly, mas; the plural of which, our poet makes masses. See Ben Johnson, and Spectator, No. 147.* Mr. Butler, in this place, must be charged with a small anachronism; for the treaty at the isle of Wight was subsequent to the death of Henderson by the space of two years. The divines employed there, were † Marshal, Vines, Caryl, Seaman, Jenkyns, and Shurston, Henderson was present at the Uxbridge treaty; and disputed with the king at Newcastle when he was in the Scottish army. Soon after which he died, as some said, of grief, because he could not convince the king: but as others said, of remorse, for having opposed him. According to these last, while on his deathbed, he published a solemn declaration to the parliament and synod of England, setting forth, that they had been abused with most false aspersions against his majesty; and that they ought to restore him to his full rights, royal throne and dignity, lest an endless character of ingratitude lie upon them. Of the king himself, beside commending his justice, magnanimity, and other virtues, he speaks in these terms. "I do declare before God and the world, whether in relation to the kirk or state, I found his majesty the most intelligent man that I ever spake with; as far beyond my expression as expectation. I profess, I was oftentimes astonished with the quickness of his reasons and replies: wondered how he, spending his time in sport and recreations, could have attained to so great knowledge: and I must confess, that I was convinced in conscience, and knew not how to give him any reasonable satisfaction. Yet the sweetness of his disposition is such, that whatever I said was well taken. I must say, that I never met with any disputant of that mild and calm temper, which convinced me, that his wisdom and moderation could not be without an extraordinary measure of divine grace.

* Andrew Cant is there called *Mas Cant*.

† Carte says, Marshal, Vines, and two others. Stephen Marshal, he says, was a bloody man in all his prayers and sermons; and Mr. Vines a more christian spirit, more modest, learned, pious, and rational in his discourses.



R Cooper sculp.

ALEXANDER B. BENSON.

Alexander B. Benson



JAMES OGLETHORPE, FOUNDER OF GEORGIA.

Engraving by J. G. Thompson.

To pass for deep and learned scholars,
 Altho' but paltry Ob and Sollers : ¹
 As if th' unseasonable fools
 Had been a coursing in the schools. ²
 Until they 'ad prov'd the devil author 1245
 O' th' covenant, and the cause his daughter;
 For when they charg'd him with the guilt
 Of all the blood that had been spilt,
 They did not mean he wrought th' effusion
 In person, like sir Pride, or Hughson, ³ 1250
 But only those who first begun
 The quarrel were by him set on ;
 And who could those be but the saints,
 Those reformation termagants ?

" I dare say, if his advice had been followed, all the blood that has been
 " shed, and all the rapine that has been committed, would have been
 " prevented." If it be true that Henderson made this declaration, it will
 amount to the highest encomium that could possibly be bestowed upon
 the king, particularly as coming from the mouth of an enemy.

¹ That is, although only contemptible dabblers in school logic. So
 in Burton's Melancholy, " A pack of Obs and Sollers." The polemic
 divines of that age and stamp, filled the margins both of their tracts
 and sermons with the words Ob and Sol ; the one standing for objec-
 tion, the other for solution. Bishop Sanderson, in his *Concio ad Aulam*,
 says — " The devil is an arrant sophister, and will not take an answer,
 " though never so reasonable and satisfactory, but will ever have
 " somewhat or other to reply. — So long as we hold us but to Ob and
 " Sol, to argument and answer, he will never out, but wrangle ad in-
 " finitum." So we say, pro and con. The old annotator's note on this
 passage is so erroneous, as to shew plainly that he could not be Butler.

² *Coursing* is a term used in the university of Oxford for some exer-
 cises preparatory to a master's degree. They were disputations in
 Lent, which were regulated by Dr. John Fell ; for before his time, the
 endeavours of one party to run down and confute another in disputa-
 tions, did commonly end in blows, and domestic quarrels, the refuge of
 the vanquished party. Wood's *Athen.* vol. ii. p. 603. Hence, and from
 another passage or two, it has been thought that Mr. Butler had re-
 ceived an academical education.

³ Pride was originally a drayman ; but at last became a famous colo-
 nel in the parliament army, was knighted by Cromwell with a faggot
 stick, hence in derision called *sir* Pride, and made one of his lords in
 parliament. Hughson was at first a shoe-maker or a cobbler, afterwards
 colonel in the parliament army, and one of Oliver's lords of the upper
 house.

But ere this pass'd, the wise debate 1255
 Spent so much time it grew too late ; ¹
 For Oliver had gotten ground,
 T' enclose him with his warriors round ;
 Had brought his providence about,
 And turn'd th' untimely ² sophists out. 1260
 Nor had the Uxbridge bus'ness less
 Of nonsense in 't, or sottishness ;
 When from a scoundrel holderforth, ³
 The scum, as well as son o' th' earth,
 Your mighty senators took law, 1265
 At his command werc forc'd t' withdraw,
 And sacrifice the peace o' th' nation
 To doctrine, use, and application.
 So when the Scots, your constant cronies,
 Th' espousers of your cause and monies, ⁴ 1270
 Who had so often, in your aid,
 So many ways been soundly paid,
 Came in at last for better ends,
 To prove themselves your trusty friends,
 You basely left them, and the church 1275
 They train'd you up to, in the lurch,

¹ The treaty at the isle of Wight was appointed at the first for forty days ; then continued for fourteen days longer, then for four, and at last for one more. By this artifice, the king's enemies gave Cromwell time to return from Scotland. Whereas it had been the true interest and policy of all that desired peace and a settlement of the kingdom, to have hastened the treaty while the army was absent. — Lord Clarendon. During the treaty, Cromwell and his officers frequently petitioned parliament to punish delinquents. — Whitelock's Mem.

² Untimely, usually signifies premature, but here, unseasonable.

³ Christopher Love, a furious presbyterian, who preached a sermon at Uxbridge during the treaty held there, introducing many reflections upon his majesty's person and government, and stirring up the people against the king's commissioners. He was executed in 1651 for treason, by means of Cromwell and the independents.

⁴ The Scots, in their first expedition, 1640, had 300,000*l.* given them for brotherly assistance, besides a contribution of 850*l.* a day from the northern counties. In their second expedition, 1643, besides much free quarter, they had 19,700*l.* monthly, and received 72,972*l.* in one year by customs on coals. The parliament agreed with them for 400,000*l.* on the surrender of the king.—Dugdale.



R. Cooper sculp.

CHRISTOPHER LOVE.

From a print by G. G. G.

And suffer'd your own tribe of christians
 To fall before, as true Philistines.¹
 This shews what utensils y' have been,
 To bring the king's concerns in ; 1280
 Which is so far from being true,
 That none but he can bring in you ;
 And if he take you into trust,
 Will find you most exactly just,
 Such as will punctually repay 1285
 With double int'rest, and betray.

Not that I think those pantomimes,
 Who vary action with the times,
 Are less ingenious in their art,
 Than those who dully act one part ; 1290
 Or those who turn from side to side,
 More guilty than the wind and tide.
 All countries are a wise man's home, ²
 And so are governments to some.
 Who change them for the same intrigues 1295
 That statesmen use in breaking leagues ;
 While others in old faiths and troths
 Look odd, as out-of-fashion'd clothes,
 And nastier in an old opinion,
 Than those who never shift their linen. 1300
 For true and faithful's sure to lose,
 Which way soever the game goes ;
 And whether parties lose or win,
 Is always nick'd, or else hedg'd in :

¹ The Scots made a third expedition into England, 1648, under duke Hamilton, which was supposed to be intended for the rescue of the king. They entered a fourth time under Charles II. when the presbyterians were expected to join him. Yet the latter assisted Cromwell : even their preachers marched with them ; thus suffering presbyterian brethren, a portion of the true church, or true Israelites, to fall before the independent army, whom they reckoned no better than Philistines.

² Omne solum forti patria est. Ovid.

Ibi esse judicabo Romam, ubicunque liberum esse licebit, says Brutus in a letter to Cicero.

While pow'r usurp'd, like stol'n delight, 1305
 Is more bewitching than the right :
 And when the times begin to alter,
 None rise so high as from the halter.¹
 And so we may, if we 've but sense
 To use the necessary means, 1310
 And not your usual stratagems
 On one another, lights, and dreams :
 To stand on terms as positive,
 As if we did not take, but give :
 Set up the covenant on crutches, 1315
 'Gainst those who have us in their clutches,
 And dream of pulling churches down,
 Before we 're sure to prop our own :
 Your constant method of proceeding,
 Without the carnal means of heeding, 1320
 Who, 'twixt your inward sense and outward,
 Are worse, than if ye 'ad none accoutred.
 I grant all courses are in vain,
 Unless we can get in again :²
 The only way that's left us now, 1325
 But all the difficulty's, how ?
 'Tis true we 've money, th' only power
 That all mankind falls down before ;
 Money that, like the swords of kings,
 Is the last reason of all things ;³ 1330

¹ In a conference between Mr. le President de Bellievre and cardinal de Retz, I will tell you, said the former, what I learned from Cromwell. Il me disoit un jour, que l'on ne montoit jamais si haut, que quand on ne sait où l'on va. Vous savez, dis-je à Bellievre, que j'ai horreur pour Cromwell ; mais, quelque grande homme qu'on nous le prône, j'ajoute le mepris ; s'il est de ce sentiment, il est d'un fou. De Retz adds, that this conversation came to Cromwell's ears ; and that he had like to have paid dearly in the sequel for the indiscretion of his tongue. Mem. de Retz, vol. ii. lib. iii. p. 385.

² When general Monk restored the excluded members, the rumpers, perceiving they could not carry things their own way, and rule as they had done, quitted the house.

³ Diodorus Siculus relates, that when the height of the walls of Amphipolis was pointed out to Philip, as rendering the town impregnable ;

And therefore need not doubt our play
 Has all advantages that way ;
 As long as men have faith to sell,
 And meet with those that can pay well ;
 Whose half-starv'd pride and avarice, 1335
 One church and state will not suffice
 T' expose to sale ; ¹ besides the wages ²
 Of storing plagues to after ages.
 Nor is our money less our own,
 Than 'twas before we laid it down ; 1340
 For 'twill return, and turn t' account,
 If we are brought in play upon 't,
 Or but by casting knaves, get in,
 What pow'r can hinder us to win ?
 We know the arts we us'd before, 1345
 In peace and war, and something more.
 And by th' unfortunate events,
 Can mend our next experiments :
 For when we 're taken into trust,
 How easy are the wisest chous'd, 1350
 Who see but th' outsides of our feats,
 And not their secret springs and weights ;

he observed, they were not so high but money could be thrown over them. And Cicero, in his second oration against Verres, *Nihil est tam sanctum quod non violari, nihil tam munitum quod non expugnari, pecuniâ possit*. The motto upon the cannon of the king of France was, *Ratio ultima regum*.

¹ There is a list of above a hundred of the principal actors in this rebellion, among whom the plunder of the church, crown, and kingdom was divided : to some five, ten, or twenty thousand pounds ; to others, lands and offices of many hundred or thousands a year. At the end of the list, the author says, it was computed that they had shared among themselves near twenty millions.

² They allowed, by their own order, four pounds a week to each member : each member of the assembly of divines was allowed four shillings a day. Are the members of the National Assembly in France better paid ? (1793). [Whether they were better paid or not they certainly succeeded in *storing plagues to after ages*, as well as partaking largely of them themselves. Liberty and philanthropy in their mouths,—tyranny and blood in their deeds,—they at last naturally succumbed to a military despot, who in his turn fell under the avenging swords of in-

And while they 're busy, at their ease,
 Can carry what designs we please?
 How easy is 't to serve for agents, 1355
 To prosecute our old engagements?
 To keep the good old cause on foot,
 And present pow'r from taking root; ¹
 Inflame them both with false alarms
 Of plots, and parties taking arms; 1360
 To keep the nation's wounds too wide
 From healing up of side to side;
 Profess the passionat'st concerns
 For both their interests by turns,
 The only way t' improve our own, 1365
 By dealing faithfully with none;
 As bowls run true, by being made
 On purpose false, and to be sway'd,
 For if we should be true to either,
 'Twould turn us out of both together; 1370
 And therefore have no other means
 To stand upon our own defence,
 But keeping up our ancient party
 In vigour, confident and hearty:
 To reconcile our late dissenters, 1375
 Our brethren, though by other venters;
 Unite them, and their different maggots,
 As long and short sticks are in faggots, ²
 And make them join again as close,
 As when they first began t' espouse; 1380

jured Europe. A Restoration follows, and now a new Revolution, being the First of the Second Series.—Comment va le monde? Tout à la ronde.]

¹ General Monk and his party, or the committee of safety: for we must understand the scene to be laid at the time when Monk bore the sway, or, as will appear by and by, at the roasting of the rumps, when Monk and the city of London united against the rump parliament.

² Vis unita fortior. See *Æsop's Fables*, 171. ed Oxon. and Plutarch de Garrulitate, ii. p. 511. Swift told this fable after the ancients, with exquisite humour, to reconcile queen Ann's ministers.

Erect them into separate
 New Jewish tribes in church and state ;¹
 To join in marriage and commerce,²
 And only 'mong themselves converse,
 And all that are not of their mind, 1385
 Make enemies to all mankind :³
 Take all religions in, and stickle
 From conclave down to conventicle ;⁴
 Agreeing still or disagreeing,
 According to the light in being, 1390
 Sometimes for liberty of conscience,
 And spiritual misrule in one sense ;
 But in another quite contrary,
 As dispensations chance to vary ;
 And stand for, as the times will bear it, 1395
 All contradictions of the spirit :
 Protect their emissaries,⁵ empower'd
 To preach sedition, and the word ;
 And when they 're hamper'd by the laws,
 Release the lab'ers for the cause, 1400
 And turn the persecution back
 On those that made the first attack,
 To keep them equally in awe
 From breaking, or maintaining law :
 And when they have their fits too soon, 1405
 Before the full-tides of the moon,
 Put off their zeal t' a fitter season,
 For sowing faction in and treason ;

¹ Make them distinct in their opinions and interests, like the Jews, who were not allowed to intermarry or converse with the nations around them.

² The accent is here laid upon the last syllable of commerce, as in Waller, p. 59. small edition by Fenton :

Or what commerce can men with monsters find.

³ The odium humani generis of Tacitus, and the non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti of the same author, are here alluded to.

⁴ That is, papists as well as non-conformists.

⁵ Read, Protect their *emissaires*, as the French in three syllables, otherwise there is a syllable too much in the verse.

And keep them hooded, and their churches,
 Like hawks, from baiting on their perches ; ¹ 1410
 That when the blessed time shall come
 Of quitting Babylon and Rome,
 They may be ready to restore
 Their own fifth monarchy once more. ²
 Mean-while be better arm'd to fence 1415
 Against revolts of providence, ³
 By watching narrowly, and snapping
 All blind sides of it, as they happen :
 For if success could make us saints,
 Our ruin turn'd us miscreants ; ⁴ 1420
 A scandal that would fall too hard
 Upon a few, and unprepar'd.
 These are the courses we must run,
 Spite of our hearts, or be undone,
 And not to stand on terms and freaks, 1425
 Before we have secur'd our necks.
 But do our work as out of sight,
 As stars by day, and suns by night ;
 All licence of the people own,
 In opposition to the crown ; 1430
 And for the crown as fiercely side,
 The head and body to divide.
 The end of all we first design'd,
 And all that yet remains behind,
 Be sure to spare no public rapine, 1435
 On all emergencies that happen ;

¹ From being too forward, or ready to take flight.

² In addition to the four great monarchies which have appeared in the world, some of the enthusiasts thought that Christ was to reign temporally upon earth, and to establish a fifth monarchy.

³ The sectaries of those days talked more familiarly to Almighty God, than they dared to do to a superior officer: they remonstrated with him, made him the author of all their wicked machinations, and, if their projects failed, they said that providence had revolted from them.

⁴ Suppose we read, Turns us miscreants.

For 'tis as easy to supplant
Authority, as men in want;
As some of us, in trusts, have made
The one hand with the other trade ; 1440
Gain'd vastly by their joint endeavour,
The right a thief, the left receiver ;
And what the one, by tricks, forestall'd,
The other, by as sly, retail'd.
For gain has wonderful effects 1445
T' improve the factory of sects ;
The rule of faith in all professions,
And great Diana of th' Ephesians ;
Whence turning of religion's made
The means to turn and wind a trade. 1450
And though some change it for the worse,
They put themselves into a course,
And draw in store of customers,
To thrive the better in commerce :
For all religions flock together, 1455
Like tame and wild fowl of a feather :
To nab the itches of their sects,
As jades do one another's necks.
Hence 'tis hypocrisy as well
Will serve t' improve a church, as zeal ; 1460
As persecution or promotion,
Do equally advance devotion.
Let bus'ness, like ill watches, go
Sometime too fast, sometime too slow ;
For things in order are put out 1465
So easy, ease itself will do 't :
But when the feat's design'd and meant,
What miracle can bar th' event ?
For 'tis more easy to betray,
Than ruin any other way. 1470
All possible occasions start,
The weightiest matters to divert ;

Obstruct, perplex, distract, entangle,
 And lay perpetual trains, to wrangle.¹
 But in affairs of less import, 1475
 That neither do us good nor hurt,
 And they receive as little by,
 Out-fawn as much, and out-comply,
 And seem as scrupulously just,
 To bait our hooks for greater trust. 1480
 But still be careful to cry down
 All public actions, tho' our own ;
 The least miscarriage aggravate,
 And charge it all upon the state :
 Express the horrid'st detestation, 1485
 And pity the distracted nation ;
 Tell stories scandalous and false,
 I' th' proper language of cabals,²
 Where all a subtle statesman says,
 Is half in words, and half in face ; 1490
 As Spaniards talk in dialogues
 Of heads and shoulders, nods and shrugs :
 Entrust it under solemn vows
 Of mum, and silence, and the rose,³
 To be retail'd again in whispers, 1495
 For th' easy credulous to disperse.
 Thus far the statesman—When a shout,
 Heard at a distance, put him out ;

¹ Exactly the advice given in Aristophanes to the sausage-maker turned politician, *Equites*, v. 214. Many political characters, in the time of Oliver, seem to have followed it. *Si quid inter comitia disceptandum, quæsitis diverticulis, aut injectis inter æstus disputandi scrupulis, ut rei determinatio in aliud tempus destineretur procurabant. De regis concessionibus usque ad diem posterum acriter disputatum est ; dum interea scrupulos nectunt, disseminant rixas, scindunt in diversum partes, longisque oratiunculis tempus terunt oligarchichi et democratici.*

² Mr. Butler has seldom been so inattentive to rhyme, as in this and the following couplet.

³ When any thing was said in confidence, the speaker in conclusion generally used the word *mum*, or *silence*. The *rose* was considered by

And strait another, all aghast,
 Rush'd in with equal fear and haste, 1500
 Who star'd about, as pale as death,
 And, for a while, as out of breath,
 Till, having gathered up his wits,
 He thus began his tale by fits : ¹

That beastly rabble—that came down 1505
 From all the garrets—in the town,
 And stalls, and shop-boards—in vast swarms,
 With new-chalk'd bills—and rusty arms,
 To cry the cause—up, heretofore,
 And bawl the bishops—out of door ; 1510
 Are now drawn up—in greater shoals,
 To roast—and broil us on the coals,
 And all the grandees—of our members
 Are carbonading—on the embers ;
 Knights, citizens, and burgesses— 1515
 Held forth by rumps—of pigs and geese,
 That serve for characters—and badges
 To represent their personages.
 Each bonfire is a funeral pile,
 In which they roast, and scorch, and broil, 1520
 And ev'ry representative
 Have vow'd to roast—and broil alive :

the ancients as an emblem of silence, from its being dedicated by Cupid to Harpocrates the god of silence, to engage him to conceal the actions of his mother Venus. Whence, in rooms designed for convivial meetings, it was customary to place a rose above the table, to signify that any thing there spoken ought never to be divulged. The epigram says :

*Est rosa flos Veneris, cujus quo facta laterent,
 Harpocrati, matris dona, dicavit amor.
 Inde rosam mensis hospes suspendit amicis,
 Conviva ut sub eâ dicta tacenda sciat.*

A rose was frequently figured on the ceiling of rooms, both in England and Germany.

¹ By this speaker is represented sir Martin Noel, who, while the cabal was sitting, brought news that the rump parliament was dismissed, the secluded members brought into the house, and that the mob of London approved of the measure. Mr. Butler tells this tale for sir Martin with wonderful humour.

And 'tis a miracle we are not
 Already sacrific'd incarnate ;
 For while we wrangle here, and jar, 1525
 W' are grilly'd all at Temple-bar ;
 Some, on the sign-post of an ale-house,
 Hang in effigy, on the gallows, ¹
 Made up of rags to personate
 Respective officers of state ; 1530
 That, henceforth, they may stand reputed,
 Proscrib'd in law, and executed,
 And, while the work is carrying on,
 Be ready listed under Dun,
 That worthy patriot, once the bellows, 1535
 And tinder-box of all his fellows ; ²

¹ For, or instead of, a gallows, would, perhaps, be a more correct reading : it is better to hang the effigy on the sign-post, than the original on the lamp-iron.

² Dun was common hangman at that time, and succeeding executioners went by his name, till eclipsed by squire Ketch. But the character here delineated was certainly intended for sir Arthur Hazlerig, knight of the shire, in the long parliament, for the county of Leicester, and one of the five members of the house of commons impeached by the king in the beginning of that parliament. He brought in the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford, and the bill against episcopacy ; though the latter was delivered by sir Edward Deering at his procurement. He also brought in the bill for the militia. Lord Clarendon says, he was used like the dove out of the ark, to try what footing the party could have for their designs. He was a hot-headed republican, and made great disturbances afterwards in the parliament of Oliver and Richard. He was always one of the rump ; and a little before this time, when the committee of safety had been set up, and the rump excluded, he had seized Portsmouth for their use. It is probable that he might call sir Arthur by the hangman's name, either for some barbarous execution which he had caused to be done in a military way, or for his forwardness and zeal in parliament in bringing the royalists to execution, and the king himself : for I find three addresses, which we may well suppose were promoted by him ; one from the garrisons of Newcastle and Tinnmouth, where Hazlerig was governor ; another from the mayor and aldermen of Newcastle ; and a third from the county of Leicester, which Hazlerig represented ; all of them for the trial of the king. Dun, however, is sometimes put for don or knight, as at line 110 of the next canto. Before Monk's intentions were known, Hazlerig, in a conversation with him, said, " I see which way things are going ; monarchy will be restored ; and then I know what will be come of me." " Pugh," replied Monk, " I will secure you for two-pence." In no long time after, when the secret was out, Hazlerig



R Cooper sculp^r

JOHN COOKE, SOLICITOR GENERAL

From a rare Print

The activ'st member of the five,
 As well as the most primitive ;
 Who, for his faithful service then,
 Is chosen for a fifth agen : 1540
 For since the state has made a quint
 Of generals, he's listed in't.¹
 This worthy, as the world will say,
 Is paid in specie, his own way ;
 For, moulded to the life, in clouts, 1545
 They've pick'd from dunghills hereabouts,
 He's mounted on a hazel bavin²
 A cropp'd malignant baker gave 'em ;³
 And to the largest bonfire riding,
 They've roasted Cook already, and Pride in ;⁴ 1550

sent Monk a letter, with two-pence inclosed. This incident is mentioned in the third volume of lord Clarendon's State Papers printed at Oxford. Sir Arthur enlisted many soldiers, and had a regiment called his Lobsters.

Without pretending that Butler had any view in this to the ancients, it reminds me of the magnificent titles given to successful generals. Fabius, I think, was called the shield, Marcellus the sword of Rome, and Scipio the thunderbolt of war. Swift excelled in this species of humour :

Would you describe Turenne or Trump,
 Think of a bucket, or a pump.

¹ *Quint*, that is, a quorum of five. After the death of Cromwell, and the deposition of Richard, when the rump parliament was restored, lest any commander in chief should again usurp the sovereignty, they resolved that their speaker should hold the offices both of general and admiral, which for a time he did. The government of the army was then put into the hands of seven commissioners, of whom Hazlerig was one. And again, February 11, 1659, Monk, Hazlerig, Walton, Morley, and Alured, were appointed commissioners to govern the army. White-lock's words are, "that Hazlerig did drive on furiously."

² An hazel faggot, such as bakers heat their ovens with.

³ Pillory, and cropping the ears, was a punishment inflicted on bakers who made short weight, or bad bread. The sectaries called all those malignants who were not of their party.

⁴ Cook was solicitor at the king's trial ; he drew up a charge against him ; and was ready with a formal plea, in case the king had submitted to the jurisdiction of the court. The plea was printed, and answered by Butler, in his Remains, (not the genuine ones, vol. i. p. 116.) Lord Clarendon allows him to have been a man of abilities. His defence at his trial was bold and manly, though not discreet or judicious. Pride has been spoken of before. It was he who garbled the

On whom, in equipage and state,
 His scare-crow fellow-members wait,
 And march in order, two and two,
 As at thanksgivings th' us'd to do ;
 Each in a tatter'd talisman, 1555
 Like vermin in effigy slain.

But, what's more dreadful than the rest,
 Those rumps are but the tail o' th' beast,
 Set up by popish engineers,
 As by the crackers plainly appears ; 1560
 For none, but jesuits, have a mission
 To preach the faith with ammunition,
 And propagate the church with powder ;
 Their founder was a blown-up soldier. ¹
 Those spiritual pioneers o' th' whore's, 1565
 That have the charge of all her stores ;
 Since first they fail'd in their designs, ²
 To take in heav'n by springing mines,
 And, with unanswerable barrels
 Of gunpowder, dispute their quarrels, 1570
 Now take a course more practicable,
 By laying trains to fire the rabble,
 And blow us up, in th' open streets,
 Disguis'd in rumps, like sambenites, ³

house of commons, causing 41 members to be seized and confined, and denying entrance to 160 more ; several others being terrified declined sitting, and left the house to about 150, who passed the vote for the trial of the king. This expulsion was called colonel Pride's Purge, and was the beginning of the rump parliament.

¹ Ignatius Loyola, founder of the society of jesuits, was a Spanish gentleman and bred a soldier : wounded at the siege of Pampeluna by the French in 1521.

² Alluding to the gunpowder plot, in the reign of James I. supposed to have been conducted by the jesuits, and for which Garnet and Oldcorn suffered.

³ Persons wearing the sambenito : a straight yellow coat without sleeves, having the picture of the devil painted upon it in black, wherein the officers of the inquisition disguise and expose heretics after their condemnation.



IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

Engraving by J. H. P.



R. Cooper sculp

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

The first voyage of Christopher Columbus to the Indies, 1492

More like to ruin and confound, 1575
 Than all their doctrines underground.
 Nor have they chosen rumps amiss,¹
 For symbols of state-mysteries ;
 Tho' some suppose, 'twas but to shew
 How much they scorn'd the saints, the few, 1580
 Who, 'cause they're wasted to the stumps,
 Are represented best by rumps.²
 But jesuits have deeper reaches
 In all their politic far-fetches ;
 And from the Coptic priest, Kircherus, 1585
 Found out this mystic way to jeer us :³
 For, as the Egyptians us'd by bees
 T' express their ancient Ptolemies,⁴
 And by their stings, the swords they wore,
 Held forth authority and pow'r ; 1590
 Because these subtle animals
 Bear all their int'rests in their tails ;
 And when they're once impair'd in that,
 Are banish'd their well-order'd state :
 They thought all governments were best 1595
 By hieroglyphic rumps exprest.

¹ The several pleasant arguments which follow, may be seen in a prose tract of the author's called a speech made at the Rota. Remains, vol. i. page 320.

² Lord Clarendon says, they were called the rump parliament, as being the fag end of a carcass long since expired: they were reduced to less than a tenth part of their original number.

³ The christians in Egypt are called Coptics, from a city in or near which many of them dwelt. [Dr. Nash settles the question of *Coptic* very easily; but if the reader has any wish to puzzle his brains in a research upon this point, he has only to turn to any work where ancient Egypt is treated of, and he will immediately get into an etymological chase with Cupti, Giptu, Gibbetu, Ægopthus and King Copte, that will assure him good sport and carry him far beyond the Doctor's city; as may be seen from a glance at Todd's definition,—"*Coptick* from *Coptus*, converted, by changing K into G, into the Gr. *Αιγυπτος*."] Athanasius Kircher, the jesuit, wrote many books on the antiquities of Egypt, one of them is called *Œdipus Egyptiacus*; for which he says he studied the Egyptian mysteries twenty years.

⁴ As the Egyptians anciently represented their kings under the emblem of a bee, which has the power of dispensing benefits and inflicting

For, as in bodies natural,
 The rump's the fundament of all ;
 So, in a commonwealth or realm,
 The government is called the helm ; 1600
 With which, like vessels under sail,
 They're turn'd and winded by the tail.
 The tail, which birds and fishes steer
 Their courses with, thro' sea and air ;
 To whom the rudder of the rump is 1605
 The same thing with the stern and compass,
 This shews, how perfectly the rump
 And commonwealth in nature jump.
 For as a fly that goes to bed,
 Rests with his tail above his head, ¹ 1610
 So, in this mongrel state of ours,
 The rabble are the supreme powers,
 That hors'd us on their backs, to show us
 A jadish trick at last, and throw us.
 The learned rabbins of the jews 1615
 Write, there's a bone, which they call luez, ²

punishments by its honey and its sting, though the poet attends principally to the energy which it bears in its tail ; so the citizens of London significantly represented this fag-end of a parliament by the rumps, or tail-parts, of sheep and other animals : some editions read *antique* Ptolemies.

¹ Several sorts of flies, having their fore legs shorter than their hind legs, are generally seen at rest with their heads downward.

² Eben Ezra, and Manasseh Ben Israel, taught, that there is a bone in the rump of a man of the size and shape of half a pea ; from which, as from an incorruptible seed, the whole man would be perfectly formed at the resurrection. Remains, vol. i. p. 320. The rabbins found their wild conjectures on Genesis, c. xlviii. v. 2 and 3, where Luz seems to mean the name of a place, not of a bone. "And Jacob said unto Joseph, God Almighty appeared unto me at Luz, in the land of Canaan, and blessed me, and said, Behold I will make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, and I will make thee a multitude of people, and will give this land to thy seed after thee for an everlasting possession." See more, Agrippa de occultâ philosophiâ, l. i. c. 20. Buxtorf, in his Chaldean Dictionary, under the word Luz, says, it is the name of a human bone, which the Jews look upon as incorruptible. In a book called Breshith Rabboth, sect. 28, it is said, that Adrian reducing the bones to powder, asked the rabbin Jehoshuang (Jesuah the son

I' th' rump of man, of such a virtue,
 No force in nature can do hurt to ;
 And therefore, at the last great day,
 All th' other members shall, they say, 1620
 Spring out of this, as from a seed
 All sorts of vegetals proceed ;
 From whence the learned sons of art,
 Os sacrum justly stile that part : ¹
 Then what can better represent, 1625
 Than this rump-bone, the parliament ?
 That after sev'ral rude ejections,
 And as prodigious resurrections,
 With new reversions of nine lives,
 Starts up, and, like a cat, revives ? ² 1630

of Hanniah) how God would raise man at the day of judgment : from the Luz replied the rabbin : how do you know it ? says Adrian : bring me one, and you shall see, says Jehoshuang ; one was produced, and all methods, by fire, pounding, &c. tried, but in vain. (French note.) In the General Dictionary, art. Barchochebas (or, the son of the star) we read, that the Jewish authors suppose that Adrian was in person in the war against the Jews, and that he besieged and took the city of Bitter, and that he then had this conference with the rabbi. See Manasse Ben-Israel de Resurrectione, lib. ii. cap. 15.

¹ The lowest of the vertebræ, or rather the bone below the vertebræ, is so called ; not for the reason wittily assigned by our poet, but, as Bartholine says, because it is much bigger than any of the vertebræ,—vel quod partibus obscœnis, naturâ ipsâ occultatis, subjacet ; sacrum enim execrabile ; as in Virgil :

Auri sacra fames.

² The rump, properly so called, began at colonel Pride's Purge above-mentioned, a little before the king's death ; and had the supreme authority about five years. Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, &c. turned out the rump, April 23, 1653, and soon afterward Cromwell usurped the administration, and held it almost five years more. After Cromwell's death, and the deposition of his son Richard, the rump parliament was restored by Lambert and other officers of the army, the excluded members not being permitted to sit. They began their meeting May 7, 1659, in number about forty-two. On some animosities and quarrels between them and the army, they were prevented again from sitting, by Lambert and the officers, October 13, in the same year. After this, the officers chose a committee of safety of twenty-three persons. These administered the affairs of government till December 20, when, finding themselves generally hated and slighted, and wanting money to pay the soldiers, Fleetwood, and the rest of them, desired the rump to return to the exercise of their trust. At length, by means of general

But now alas! they're all expir'd,
 And th' house, as well as members, fir'd ;
 Consum'd in kennels by the rout,
 With which they other fires put out ;
 Condemn'd t' ungoverning distress, 1635
 And paltry private wretchedness ;
 Worse than the devil to privation,
 Beyond all hopes of restoration ;
 And parted, like the body and soul,
 From all dominion and controul. ¹ 1640
 We, who could lately, with a look,
 Enact, establish, or revoke,
 Whose arbitrary nods gave law,
 And frowns kept multitudes in awe ;
 Before the bluster of whose huff, 1645
 All hats, as in a storm, flew off ;
 Ador'd and bow'd to by the great,
 Down to the footman and valet ;
 Had more bent knees than chapel mats,
 And prayers than the crowns of hats, 1650
 Shall now be scorn'd as wretchedly :
 For ruin's just as low as high ;

Monk, above eighty of the old secluded members resumed their places in the house ; upon which most of the rumpers quitted it. Mr. Butler, in his *Genuine Remains*, vol. i. p. 320, says, "nothing can bear a nearer resemblance to the luz, or rump bone of the ancient rabbins, than the present parliament, that has been so many years dead, and rotten under ground, to any man's thinking, that the ghosts of some of the members thereof have transmigrated into other parliaments, and some into those parts from whence there is no redemption, should nevertheless, at two several and respective resurrections start up, like the dragon's teeth that were sown, into living, natural, and carnal members. And, hence it is, I suppose, that the physicians and anatomists call this bone *os sacrum*, or the holy bone."

¹ These lines paint well the hunger and thirst after power in ambitious minds. Aristotle's *Politic*. lib. 3, relates the complaint of Jason, that when he had not empire, he was famished, for he knew not how to live as a private man. Commentators think Tiberius alluded to this saying in his rebuke to Agrippina, recorded by Tacitus, *An*. iv. 52, and Suetonius in Tiberio, cap. 53. "What, child, because you do not govern us all, do you think yourself wronged?"

Which might be suffer'd, were it all
The horror that attends our fall :
For some of us have scores more large 1655
Than heads and quarters can discharge ;
And others, who, by restless scraping,
With public frauds, and private rapine,
Have mighty heaps of wealth amass'd,
Would gladly lay down all at last ; 1660
And, to be but undone, entail
Their vessels on perpetual jail,
And bless the devil to let them farms
Of forfeit souls, on no worse terms.

This said, a near and louder shout 1665
Put all th' assembly to the rout,
Who now began t' out-run their fear,
As horses do, from those they bear ;
But crowded on with so much haste,
Until they 'd block'd the passage fast, 1670
And barricado'd it with haunches
Of outward men, and bulks and paunches,
That with their shoulders strove to squeeze,
And rather save a crippled piece
Of all their crush'd and broken members, 1675
Than have them grilly'd on the embers ;
Still pressing on with heavy packs
Of one another on their backs,
The van-guard could no longer bear
The charges of the forlorn rear, 1680
But, borne down headlong by the rout,
Were trampled sorely under foot ;
Yet nothing prov'd so formidable,
As th' horrid cook'ry of the rabble :
And fear, that keeps all feelings out, 1685
As lesser pains are by the gout,
Reliev'd 'em with a fresh supply
Of rally'd force, enough to fly,

And beat a Tuscan running horse,
Whose jockey-rider is all spurs. ¹

1690

¹ Races of this kind are practised both in the corso at Rome, and at Florence. At Rome, in the carnival, there are five or six horses trained on purpose for this diversion. They are drawn up a-breast in the Piazza del Popolo ; and certain balls, with little sharp spikes, are hung along their rumps, which serve to spur them on as soon as they begin to run.



HUDIBRAS.

PART III. CANTO III.

ARGUMENT.

The Knight and Squire's prodigious flight
To quit th' enchanted bow'r by night.
He plods to turn his amorous suit,
T' a plea in law, and prosecute :
Repairs to counsel, to advise
'Bout managing the enterprise ;
But first resolves to try by letter,
And one more fair address, to get her.



CANTO III. ¹

Who would believe what strange bugbears
Mankind creates itself, of fears,
That spring, like fern, that insect weed,
Equivocally, without seed, ²

¹ The Editor was much inclined to follow the plan of the French translator, and place this before the preceding canto; but he was afraid to alter the form which Butler himself had made choice of, especially as the poet had taken the pains to recapitulate and explain the foregoing adventure, and bring it back to the reader's memory.

² He calls it an insect weed, on the supposition of its being bred, as many insects were thought to be, not by the natural generation of their own kinds, but by the corruption of other substances, or the spontaneous fecundity of matter. This is called equivocal generation, in contradistinction to unequivocal, or that which is brought about by a natural succession and derivation, from an egg, a seed, or a root, of the same animal or vegetable. Plants of the cryptogamia class, ferns, mosses, flags, and fungusses, have their seeds and flowers so small as not to be discernible; so that the ancients held them to be without seed. Pliny, in his Natural History, says, *Filicis duo genera, nec florem habent, nec semen.* (lib. xxvii. c. 9.) Mr. Durham says, the capsules are hardly a quarter so big as a grain of sand, and yet may contain an hundred seeds. [Our ancestors, believing that this plant produced seed that was invisible, concluded that those who possessed the secret of wearing it about them would become likewise invisible. See Henry IV. Part I.

And have no possible foundation, 5
 But merely in th' imagination ?
 And yet can do more dreadful feats
 Than hags, with all their imps and teats ;
 Make more bewitch and haunt themselves,
 Than all their nurseries of elves. 10
 For fear does things so like a witch,
 'Tis hard t' unriddle which is which ;
 Sets up communities of senses,
 To chop and change intelligences ;
 As Rosicrucian virtuoso's 15
 Can see with ears, and hear with noses ;¹
 And when they neither see nor hear,
 Have more than both supply'd by fear,
 That makes them in the dark see visions,
 And hag themselves with apparitions, 20
 And when their eyes discover least,
 Discern the subtlest object best ;

Gads. ——— We steal as in a castle, cocksure ; we have the *receipt of fern-seed*, we walk invisible.

Chamb. Nay, by my faith ; I think, you are more beholden to the night ———]

¹ A banter on the marquis of Worcester's scantlings of inventions. Edmund Somerset, marquis of Worcester, published, in 1663, a century of the names and scantlings of such inventions, as, says he, "I can call "to mind to have tried and perfected." The book is a mere table of contents, a list only of an hundred projects, mostly impossibilities ; though he pretends to have discovered the art of performing all of them. How to make an unsinkable ship — how to sail against wind and tide — how to fly — how to use all the senses indifferently for each other, to talk by colours, and to read by the taste — how to converse by the jangling of bells out of tune, &c. &c. For an account of the marquis of Worcester, see Walpole's Catalogue of Noble Authors ; and Collins's Peerage, article Beaufort, where is that most extraordinary patent which Charles the first granted to the marquis. Panurge, in Rabelais, says : *que ses lunettes lui faisoient entendre beaucoup plus clair*. Shakspeare, in his *Midsummer Night's Dream*, says, "he is gone "to see a noise that he heard." "This is an art to teach men to see "with their ears, and hear with their eyes and noses, as it has been "found true by experience and demonstration, if we may believe the "history of the Spaniard, that could see words, and swallow music by "holding the peg of a fiddle between his teeth, or him that could sing "his part backward at first sight, which those that were near him

Do things not contrary alone,
 To th' course of nature, but its own, ¹
 The courage of the bravest daunt, 25
 And turn poltroons as valiant :
 For men as resolute appear
 With too much, as too little fear ;
 And, when they 're out of hopes of flying,
 Will run away from death, by dying ; ² 30
 Or turn again to stand it out,
 And those they fled, like lions, rout.

This Hudibras had prov'd too true,
 Who, by the furies, left perdue,
 And haunted with detachments, sent 35
 From marshal Legion's regiment, ³
 Was by a fiend, as counterfeit,
 Reliev'd and rescu'd with a cheat,
 When nothing but himself, and fear,
 Was both the imps and conjurer ; ⁴ 40

"might hear with their noses." Butler's Remains, vol. ii. p. 245. Our poet probably means to ridicule sir Kenelm Digby, and some treatises wrote by Dr. Bulwer, author of the Artificial Changeling.

¹ Suppose we read :

—— but *their* own.

² Hostem dum fugeret, se Fannius ipse peremit,
 Hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriari, mori.

Mart. lib. 2. Ep. 80.

³ Dr. Grey supposes that Stephen Marshal, a famous preacher among the presbyterians, is here intended. But the word marshal, I am inclined to think, denotes a title of office and rank, not the name of any particular man. Legion may, in this place, be used for the name of a leader, or captain of a company of devils, not the company itself. The meaning is, that the knight was haunted by a crew of devils, such as that in the Gospel, which claimed the name of Legion, because they were many ; though it might be a devilish mortification to attend the sermons of Dr. Burgess and Stephen Marshal, who are said to have preached before the house of commons for above seven hours without ceasing.

⁴ The poet, with great wit, rallies the imaginary and groundless fears which possess some persons : and from whence proceed the tales of ghosts and apparitions, imps, conjurers, and witches. Tully says, nolite enim putare — eos qui aliquid impie scelerateque commiserint, agitari et perterrerī furiarum tædis ardentibus : sua quemque fraus, et suus terror maxime vexat : suum quemque scelus agitat, amentiaque

As by the rules o' th' virtuosi,
It follows in due form of poesie.

Disguis'd in all the masks of night,
We left our champion on his flight,
And blindman's buff, to grope his way, 45
In equal fear of night and day;
Who took his dark and desp'rate course,
He knew no better than his horse;
And by an unknown devil led,¹
He knew as little whither, fled, 50
He never was in greater need,
Nor less capacity of speed;
Disabled, both in man and beast,
To fly and run away, his best;²
To keep the enemy, and fear, 55
From equal falling on his rear.
And though, with kicks and bangs he ply'd,
The further and the nearer side;
As seamen ride with all their force,
And tug as if they row'd the horse, 60
And when the hackney sails most swift,
Believe they lag, or run a-drift;
So, tho' he posted e'er so fast,
His fear was greater than his haste:
For fear, though fleet^r than the wind, 65
Believes 'tis always left behind.
But when the morn began t' appear,
And shift t' another scene his fear,
He found his new officious shade,
That came so timely to his aid, 70

afficit: suæ malæ cogitationes conscientiaque animi terrent. Hæ sunt impiis assiduæ domesticæque furia. Pro S. Roscio, cap. xxiv. The same thought may be found in the Athenian orator, Æschines.

¹ It was Ralpho who conveyed the knight out of the widow's house, though unknown.

² That is, to do his best at flying and running away, in order to keep the enemy, and fear, from falling equally on his rear.

And forc'd him from the foe t' escape,
Had turn'd itself to Ralpho's shape,
So like in person, garb, and pitch,
'Twas hard t' interpret which was which.

For Ralpho had no sooner told 75
The lady all he had t' unfold,
But she convey'd him out of sight,
To entertain th' approaching Knight;
And while he gave himself diversion,
T' accommodate his beast and person, 80
And put his beard into a posture
At best advantage to accost her,
She order'd th' anti-masquerade,
For his reception, aforesaid :
But, when the ceremony was done, 85
The lights put out, the furies gone,
And Hudibras, among the rest,
Convey'd away, as Ralpho guess'd,¹
The wretched caitiff, all alone,
As he believ'd, began to moan, 90
And tell his story to himself,
The Knight mistook him for an elf;
And did so still, till he began
To scruple at Ralph's outward man,
And thought, because they oft' agreed 95
T' appear in one another's stead,
And act the saint's and devil's part,
With undistinguishable art,
They might have done so now, perhaps,
And put on one another's shapes ; 100

¹ It is here said that Ralpho guessed his master was conveyed away, and that he believed himself to be all alone when he made his lamentation : but this seems to be a slip of memory in the poet, for some parts of his lamentations are not at all applicable to his own case, but plainly designed for his master's hearing : such are v. 1371, &c. of Part iii. c. i.

And therefore, to resolve the doubt,
 He star'd upon him, and cry'd out,
 What art? my Squire, or that bold sprite
 That took his place and shape to night? ¹
 Some busy independent pug, 105
 Retainer to his synagogue?
 Alas! quoth he, I'm none of those
 Your bosom friends, as you suppose,
 But Ralph himself, your trusty Squire,
 Who 'as dragg'd your donship out o' the mire, ²
 And from th' enchantments of a widow,
 Who 'ad turn'd you int' a beast, have freed you;
 And, tho' a prisoner of war,
 Have brought you safe, where now you are;
 Which you wou'd gratefully repay, 115
 Your constant presbyterian way. ³
 That's stranger, quoth the Knight, and stranger,
 Who gave thee notice of my danger;
 Quoth he, Th' infernal conjurer
 Pursu'd, and took me prisoner; 120
 And, knowing you were hereabout,
 Brought me along to find you out.
 Were I, in hugger-mugger hid, ⁴
 Have noted all they said or did:
 And, tho' they lay to him the pageant, 125
 I did not see him nor his agent;

¹ Sir Hudibras, we may remember, though he had no objection to consult with evil spirits, did not speak of them with much respect.

² The word don is often used to signify a knight.

³ The poet still preserves the wrangling temper of the dissenting brethren.

⁴ Thus Shakspeare, in Hamlet: "We've done but greenly in hugger-mugger to inter him, poor Ophelia." "All the modern editions," says Dr Johnson, "give it, *in private*; if phraseology is to be changed, "as words grow uncouth by disuse, or gross by vulgarity, the history of every language will be lost, we shall no longer have the words of any author, and as these alterations will often be unskilfully made, "we shall in time have very little of his meaning."

Who play'd their sorceries out of sight,
T' avoid a fiercer second fight.
But didst thou see no devils then ?
Not one, quoth he, but carnal men, 130
A little worse than fiends in hell,
And that she-devil Jezebel,
That laugh'd and tee-he'd with derision
To see them take your deposition.
What then, quoth Hudibras, was he 135
That play'd the dev'l to examine me ?
A rallying weaver in the town, ¹
That did it in a parson's gown,
Whom all the parish take for gifted,
But, for my part, I ne'er believ'd it: 140
In which you told them all your feats,
Your conscientious frauds and cheats ;
Deny'd your whipping, and confess'd, ²
The naked truth of all the rest,
More plainly than the rev'rend writer 145
That to our churches veil'd his miter ;

¹ This line should begin a new paragraph, as it belongs to a new and different speaker.

² It has been supposed that the person here meant was Williams, bishop of Lincoln, afterward archbishop of York. Some of his tracts seem to apologize for the dissenters.—Letter to the Vicar of Grantham.—And Holy Table, name and thing ; against placing the communion table at the east end of the chancel, and setting rails before it. He delivered the town and castle of Conwy* to the parliament, and had a private conference with Prynne and others : was certainly a violent opponent of Laud, and for some time a favourite with the dissenters. Perhaps his great passion, pride and vanity, failings, as my worthy friend Mr. Pennant says (*Tour in Wales*, vol. ii. p. 295.) to which his countrymen are often subject, might have occasioned him to espouse the interest of the dissenters, in order to shew his resentment to Laud and Wren. In the same spirit he is thought to have delivered Conwy to general Mytton, because he had been superseded in the custody of that place by Prince Rupert. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1789, is a letter from Oliver Cromwell to archbishop Williams, from which it appears that there was a good understanding between them. The date is September 1, 1647. Others have imagined that this passage alludes to Graham, bishop of Orkney, or Adair, bishop of

* Conwy signifies the first or chief of waters.

All which they took in black and white,
And cudgell'd me to underwrite.

What made thee, when they all were gone,
And none but thou and I alone, 150
To act the devil, and forbear
To rid me of my hellish fear ?
Quoth he, I knew your constant rate,
And frame of sp'rit too obstinate,
To be by me prevail'd upon, 155
With any motives of my own ;
And therefore strove to counterfeit
The dev'l awhile, to nick your wit ;
The devil that is your constant crony,
That only can prevail upon ye ; 160
Else we might still have been disputing,
And they with weighty drubs confuting.

The Knight, who now began to find
They 'd left the enemy behind,
And saw no further harm remain, 165
But feeble weariness and pain,

Kilala. In Keith's *Lives of the Scottish Bishops*, the former, we read, was translated from Dunblane to Orkney ; which see he held from 1615 to 1638. He was very rich, and being threatened by the assembly of Glasgow, he renounced his episcopal function ; and in a letter to that assembly declared his unfeigned sorrow and grief, for having exercised so sinful an office in the church. In the Catalogue of the Bishops of Scotland to 1688, Edin. 1755, occurs Alexander Lindsay, who continued in the see of Dunkeld till 1638, when he renounced his office, abjured episcopacy, submitted to presbyterian parity, and accepted from the then rulers his former church of St. Mado's. In the opinion of others this reflection was designed for Croft, bishop of Hereford ; who, though he could not have been directly intended by the squire, might, perhaps, be obliquely glanced at by the poet. In 1675, two or three years before the publication of this part of the poem, came out a pamphlet by an anonymous writer, but generally attributed to the bishop of Hereford, called, *The naked Truth*, a title which gives a striking air of probability to the supposition. In this piece the distinction of the three orders of the church is flatly denied, and endeavoured to be disproved : the surplice, bowing toward the altar, kneeling at the sacrament, and other ceremonies of the church are condemned ; while most of the pleas for non-conformists are speciously and zealously supported. This pamphlet fell not within the compass of time comprised in the poem ; but Mr. Butler might think proper to hint at it, because it made a great noise, and was much talked of. Andrew Marvel, in his *Rehearsal Transposed*, says, it is written with the pen of an angel.

Perceiv'd, by losing of their way,
 They 'ad gain'd th' advantage of the day,
 And, by declining of the road,
 They had, by chance, their rear made good ; 170
 He ventur'd to dismiss his fear,
 That parting's wont to rant and tear,
 And give the desp'ratest attack
 'To danger still behind its back :
 For having paus'd to recollect, 175
 And on his past success reflect,
 T' examine and consider why,
 And whence, and how, he came to fly,
 And when no devil had appear'd,
 What else it could be said he fear'd, 180
 It put him in so fierce a rage,
 He once resolv'd to re-engage ;
 Toss'd, like a foot-ball, back again
 With shame, and vengeance, and disdain. ¹
 Quoth he, It was thy cowardice, 185
 That made me from this leaguer rise,
 And when I'd half reduc'd the place,
 To quit it infamously base,
 Was better cover'd by the new
 Arriv'd detachment, than I knew ; ² 190
 To slight my new acquests, and run,
 Victoriously, from battles won ;
 And, reck'ning all I gain'd or lost,
 To sell them cheaper than they cost ;
 To make me put myself to flight, 195
 And, conqu'ring, run away by night ;

1

—æstuat ingens

Uno in corde pudor, mixtoque insania luctu,
 Et furiis agitatus amor, et conscia virtus.

Æneis x. 870.

² Here seems a defect in coherency and syntax. The Knight means, that it was dishonourable in him to quit the siege, especially when reinforced by the arrival of the Squire.

To drag me out, which th' haughty foe
 Durst never have presum'd to do ;
 To mount me in the dark, by force,
 Upon the bare ridge of my horse. 200
 Expos'd in querpo to their rage,
 Without my arms and equipage ; ¹
 Lest, if they ventur'd to pursue,
 I might th' unequal fight renew ;
 And, to preserve my outward man, 205
 Assum'd my place, and led the van.
 All this, quoth Ralph, I did, 'tis true,
 Not to preserve myself, but you :
 You, who were damn'd to baser drubs
 Than wretches feel in powd'ring tubs, ² 210

¹ *Querpo*, from the Spanish *cuerpo*, *corpus*, here signifies a waist-coat, or close jacket. Butler, in MS. Common-place book, says, all coats of arms were defensive, and worn upon shields ; though the ancient use of them is now given over, and men fight in *querpo*. See Junii Etymolog. to fight in buff. [“ Boy, my cloak and rapier ; it fits “ not a gentleman of my rank to walk the streets in *querpo*.” Beaumont and Fletcher.—Love’s Cure, ii. 1.]

² The poet often leaves room for various conjectures. Critics, to explain this passage, have thought of the Dutch punishment of pumping : of the Salpetriere prison at Paris : of the martyrs ground in a mill : but I believe it alludes to the old method of attempting to cure the venereal disease by sudorifics, mentioned under the words sweating-lanthorns—to preserve you from the blows or pains (the cause for the effect) more severe than those which venereal patients suffer by the awkward attempt to cure before the use of mercury, which was not much known before the restoration : Butler is so loose in his grammatical construction, that powdering may allude to drubs, and signify violent, as at v. 1055 of this canto :

Laid on in haste with such a powder
 That blows grew louder and still louder.

The preacher’s pulpit is often called a tub, and sometimes a sweating tub, from the violence of action when the preacher thumped the cushion like a drum. In a ballad falsely ascribed to Butler, called *Oliver’s Court*, Posthumous Works, vol. ii. p. 240 :

If it be one of the *eating* tribe,
 Both a pharisee and a scribe,
 And hath learn’d the snivelling tone
 Of a fluxt devotion,
 Cursing from his *sweating-tub*.

Perhaps it would be better, if in the first line we read, *canting* tribe. See P. ii. c. iii. v. 759, note.

To mount two-wheel'd carroches, worse
 Than managing a wooden horse ; ¹
 Dragg'd out thro' straiter holes by th' ears,
 Eras'd, or coup'd for perjurers ; ²
 Who, tho' th' attempt had prov'd in vain, 215
 Had had no reason to complain ;
 But, since it prosper'd, 'tis unhandsome
 To blame the hand that paid your ransom,
 And rescu'd your obnoxious bones
 From unavoidable battoons. 220
 The enemy was reinforce'd,
 And we disabled and unhors'd,
 Disarm'd, unqualify'd for fight,
 And no way left but hasty flight,
 Which, tho' as desp'rate in th' attempt, ³ 225
 Has giv'n you freedom to condemn't.
 But were our bones in fit condition
 To reinforce the expedition,
 'Tis now unseasonable and vain,
 To think of falling on again : 230
 No martial project to surprise
 Can ever be attempted twice ; ⁴
 Nor cast design serve afterwards,
 As gamesters tear their losing cards.

¹ Carroche properly signifies coach, from the French *carrosse* ; but in burlesque it is a cart, particularly that in which convicts are carried to execution. Riding the wooden-horse was a punishment inflicted on soldiers. That is, you who was damned, or condemn'd to be dragg'd, &c.

² Erased, in heraldry, is when a member seems forcibly torn, or plucked off from the body, so that it look'd jagged like the teeth of a saw ; it is used in contradistinction to coup'd, which signifies a thing cut off clean and smooth. Set in the pillory, and coup'd, from the French *coupé*, cropped. The knight had incurred the guilt of perjury.

³ Suppose we read :

Which, tho' 'twas desp'rate——

⁴ A coup de main, or project of taking by surprise, if it does not succeed at first, ought not to be persevered in. Non licet bis peccare, is a known military maxim.

Beside, our bangs of man and beast 235
 Are fit for nothing but to rest,
 And for a while will not be able
 To rally, and prove serviceable :
 And therefore I, with reason, chose
 This stratagem to amuse our foes, 240
 To make an hon'rab!e retreat,
 And wave a total sure defeat :
 For those that fly may fight again,
 Which he can never do that's slain. ¹
 Hence timely running's no mean part 245
 Of conduct, in the martial art,
 By which some glorious feats achieve,
 As citizens by breaking thrive,
 And cannons conquer armies, while
 They seem to draw off and recoil ; 250
 Is held the gallant'st course, and bravest, ²
 To great exploits, as well as safest ;
 That spares th' expense of time and pains,
 And dang'rous beating out of brains ;
 And, in the end, prevails as certain 255
 As those that never trust to fortune ;
 But make their fear do execution
 Beyond the stoutest resolution ;

¹ Demosthenes justified his flight from the battle of Chæronea by the same argument.

Ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται.

It is an iambic from some poet, Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. lib. 17. 21. Dr. Jortin, in his Tracts, would read,

Ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν γὰρ φέυξεται.

He who has an inclination to read more concerning this Senarius proverbialis quo monemur non protinus abjicere animum, si quid parum feliciter successerit, nam victos posse vincere : proinde Homerus, &c., may consult Erasm. Adagia.—The Satyre Menippée has the idea thus expressed :

Souvent celuy qui demeure
 Est cause de son meschef,
 Celuy qui fuit de bonne heure
 Peut combattre derechef.

² In some editions we read :

'Tis held the gallant'st—

As earthquakes kill without a blow,
 And, only trembling, overthrow. 260
 If th' ancients crown'd their bravest men
 That only sav'd a citizen,
 What victory cou'd e'er be won,
 If ev'ry one would save but one ?
 Or fight endanger'd to be lost, 265
 Where all resolve to save the most ?
 By this means, when a battle's won,
 The war's as far from being done ;
 For those that save themselves and fly,
 Go halves, at least, i' th' victory ; 270
 And sometime, when the loss is small,
 And danger great, they challenge all ;
 Print new additions to their feats,
 And emendations in gazettes ;
 And when, for furious haste to run, 275
 They durst not stay to fire a gun,
 Have done 't with bonfires, and at home
 Made squibs and crackers overcome ;
 To set the rabble on a flame,
 And keep their governors from blame, 280
 Disperse the news the pulpit tells, ¹
 Confirm'd with fireworks and with bells :
 And tho' reduc'd to that extreme,
 They have been forc'd to sing Te Deum ;
 Yet, with religious blasphemy, 285
 By flattering heav'n with a lie ;
 And, for their beating, giving thanks,
 They 've raised recruits, and fill'd their ranks ; ²

¹ " In their sermons," says Burnet, " and chiefly in their prayers, all that passed in the state was canvassed. Men were as good as named, and either recommended or complained of to God, as they were odious or acceptable to them. At length this humour grew so petulant, that the pulpit was a scene of news and passion."

² It has been an ancient and very frequent practice for the van-

For those who run from th' enemy,
 Engage them equally to fly ; 290
 And when the fight becomes a chace,
 Those win the day that win the race ; ¹
 And that which would not pass in fights,
 Has done the feat with easy flights ; ²
 Recover'd many a desp'rate campaign 295
 With Bourdeaux, Burgundy, and Champaign ;
 Restor'd the fainting high and mighty,
 With brandy-wine, and aquavitæ ;
 And made them stoutly overcome
 With bacrack, hoccamore, and mum ; ³ 300
 Whom th' uncontroll'd decrees of fate
 To victory necessitate ;

quished party in war to boast of victory, and even to ordain solemn thanksgivings, as means of keeping up the spirits of the people. The parliament often had recourse to this artifice, and in the course of the war had thirty-five thanksgiving days. In the first notable encounter, at Wickfield near Worcester, September 23, 1642, their forces received a total defeat. Whitelock says, they were all killed or routed, and only one man lost on the king's side. Yet the parliamentarians spread about printed papers, bragging of it as a complete victory, and ordained a special thanksgiving in London. This they did after the battle of Keynton, and the second fight at Newbery ; but particularly when sir William Waller received that great defeat at Roundway-down, they kept a thanksgiving at Gloucester, and made rejoicings for a signal victory, which they pretended he had gained for them. This was no new practice. See Polyæni Stratagem. lib. i. cap. 35, and 44. —Stratocles persuaded the Athenians to offer a sacrifice to the gods, by way of thanks, on account of their having defeated their enemies, and yet he knew that the Athenian fleet had been defeated. When the truth was known, and the people exasperated, his reply was, "What injury have I done you, it is owing to me that you have spent three days in joy."—Catherine of Medicis was used to say, that a false report, if believed for three days, might save a state.—See many stories of the same kind in the General Dictionary, vol. x. p. 337.

¹ An old philosopher, at a drinking match, insisted that he had won the prize because he was first drunk.

² Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit.

³ The first is an excellent kind of Rhenish wine, so called from a town of that name in the lower Palatinate. [Bacharach. Henry Stephens preferred this wine to every other]. Heylin derived the name of bacrack from Bacchi ara. [It was an ancient tradition.] Hoccamore is what we call old hock. Mum is a liquor used in Germany, and made, as I am told, from wheat malted.

With which, altho' they run or burn,¹
 They unavoidably return ;
 Or else their sultan populates 305
 Still strangle all their routed bassas.²
 Quoth Hudibras, I understand
 What fights thou mean'st at sea and land,
 And who those were that run away,
 And yet gave out th' had won the day :³ 310
 Altho' the rabble sous'd them for 't,
 O'er head and ears, in mud and dirt.
 'Tis true our modern way of war
 Is grown more politic by far,⁴
 But not so resolute and bold, 315
 Nor ty'd to honour, as the old.
 For now they laugh at giving battle,
 Unless it be to herds of cattle ;

¹ That is, though they run away, or their ships are fired. See v. 308.

² The mob, like the sultan or grand seignior, seldom fail to strangle any of their commanders, called bassas, if they prove unsuccessful; thus Waller was neglected after the battle of Roundway-down, called by the wits Runaway-down.

³ The poet might farther have illustrated this subject, if he had known the contents of an essay lately published by Mr. Maclaurin, to prove that Troy really was not taken by the Greeks. See the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh: this whim is as old as Dio Chrysostom, who wrote an elaborate tract, still extant, to demonstrate his Paradox.

⁴ Mr. Butler's MS. Common-place book has the following lines :

For fighting now is out of mode,
 And stratagem's the only road ;
 Unless in th' out-of-fashion wars,
 Of barb'rous Turks and Polanders.
 All feats of arms are now reduc'd
 To chousing, or to being chous'd ;
 They fight not now to overthrow,
 But gull, or circumvent a foe.
 And watch all small advantages
 As if they fought a game at chess ;
 And he's approv'd the most deserving
 Who longest can hold out at starving.
 Who makes best fricasees of cats,
 Of frogs and —, and mice and rats ;
 Pottage of vermin, and ragoos
 Of trunks and boxes, and old shoes.
 And those who, like th' immortal gods,
 Do never eat, have still the odds.

Or fighting convoys of provision,
 The whole design o' th' expedition, 320
 And not with downright blows to rout
 The enemy, but eat them out :
 As fighting, in all beasts of prey,
 And eating, are perform'd one way,
 To give defiance to their teeth, 325
 And fight their stubborn guts to death ;
 And those atchieve the high'st renown,
 That bring the other stomachs down.
 There's now no fear of wounds nor maiming,
 All dangers are reduc'd to famine, 330
 And feats of arms to plot, design,
 Surprise, and stratagem, and mine ;
 But have no need nor use of courage,
 Unless it be for glory, or forage :
 For if they fight 'tis but by chance, 335
 When one side vent'ring to advance,
 And come uncivilly too near,
 Are charg'd unmercifully i' th' rear,
 And fore'd, with terrible resistance,
 To keep hereafter at a distance, 340
 To pick out ground t' encamp upon,
 Where store of largest rivers run,
 That serve, instead of peaceful barriers,
 To part th' engagements of their warriors ;
 Where both from side to side may skip, 345
 And only encounter at bo-peep :
 For men are found the stouter-hearted,
 The certainer they 're to be parted,
 And therefore post themselves in bogs,
 As th' ancient mice attack'd the frogs,¹ 350
 And made their mortal enemy,
 The water-rat, their strict ally.²

¹ Alluding to the poem on the Battle between the Mice and the Frogs attributed to Homer.

² The Dutch, who seemed to favour the parliamentarians.

For 'tis not now, who's stout and bold?
 But, who bears hunger best, and cold? ¹
 And he's approv'd the most deserving, 355
 Who longest can hold out at starving;
 And he that routs most pigs and cows,
 The formidablest man of prowess. ²
 So th' emperor Caligula,
 That triumph'd o'er the British sea, ³ 360
 Took crabs and oysters prisoners,
 And lobsters, 'stead of cuirassiers, ⁴
 Engag'd his legions in fierce bustles
 With periwinkles, prawns, and muscles,
 And led his troops with furious gallops, 365
 To charge whole regiments of scallops;
 Not like their ancient way of war,
 To wait on his triumphal car;
 But when he went to dine or sup,
 More bravely ate his captives up, 370
 And left all war, by his example,
 Reduc'd to vict'ling of a camp well.

¹ An ordinance was passed March 26, 1644, for the contribution of one meal a week toward the charge of the army.

² A snicer, perhaps, on Venables and Pen, who were unfortunate in their expedition against the Spaniards at St. Domingo, in the year 1655. It is observed of them, that they exercised their valour only on horses, asses, and such like, making a slaughter of all they met, greedily devouring skins, entrails and all, to satiate their hunger. See *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iii. No. xii. p. 494, 498.

³ Caligula, having ranged his army on the sea-shore and disposed his instruments of war as if he was just going to engage, while every one wondered what he designed to do, on a sudden ordered his men to gather up the shells on the strand, and to fill their helmets and their bosoms with them, calling them the spoils of the conquered ocean. *Suetonius in vita Caligulæ*.

⁴ Sir Arthur Hazelrig had a regiment called his lobsters; it has been thought by some, that the defeat at Roundway-down was owing to the ill behaviour of this regiment. Cleveland, in his character of a London diurnal, says, "This is the William which is the city's champion, and 'the diurnal's delight. Yet in all this triumph, translate the scene but 'to Roundway-down, there Hazelrig's lobsters were turned into crabs, 'and crawled backwards.'"

Quoth Ralph, By all that you have said,
 And twice as much that I cou'd add,
 'Tis plain you cannot now do worse 375
 Than take this out-of-fashion'd course ;
 To hope, by stratagem, to woo her ;
 Or waging battle to subdue her ;
 Tho' some have done it in romances,
 And bang'd them into am'rous fancies ; 380
 As those who won the Amazons,
 By wanton drubbing of their bones ;
 And stout Rinaldo gain'd his bride ¹
 By courting of her back and side.
 But since those times and feats are over, 385
 They are not for a modern lover,
 When mistresses are too cross-grain'd,
 By such addresses to be gain'd ;
 And if they were, would have it out
 With many another kind of bout. 390
 Therefore I hold no course s' infeasible,
 As this of force, to win the Jezebel,
 To storm her heart by th' antic charms
 Of ladies errant, force of arms ;
 But rather strive by law to win her, 395
 And try the title you have in her.
 Your case is clear, you have her word,
 And me to witness the accord ; ²
 Besides two more of her retinue
 To testify what pass'd between you ; 400
 More probable, and like to hold,
 Than hand, or seal, or breaking gold, ³

¹ See the interview between Rinaldo and Armida, in the last book of Tasso. Or perhaps the poet, quoting by memory, mistook the name, and intended to have mentioned Ruggiero in Ariosto.

² Ralpho, no doubt, was ready to witness any thing that would serve his turn ; and hoped the widow's two attendants would do the same.

³ See note on P. ii. c. i. l. 585.

For which so many that renounc'd
Their plighted contracts have been trounc'd,
And bills upon record been found, 405
That forc'd the ladies to compound ;
And that, unless I miss the matter,
Is all the bus'ness you look after.
Besides, encounters at the bar
Are braver now than those in war, 410
In which the law does execution,
With less disorder and confusion ;
Has more of honour in 't, some hold,
Not like the new way, but the old, ¹
When those the pen had drawn together, ² 415
Decided quarrels with the feather,
And winged arrows kill'd as dead,
And more than bullets now of lead : ³
So all their combats now, as then,
Are manag'd chiefly by the pen ; 420
That does the feat, with braver vigours,
In words at length, as well as figures ;
Is judge of all the world performs
In voluntary feats of arms,
And whatsoe'r 's atchiev'd in fight, 425
Determines which is wrong or right ;

¹ The poet's ideas crowd so fast upon him, that he is not always quite intelligible at first reading. Ralpho persuades the knight to gain the widow, at least her fortune, not by the fire-arms now in use, but by law : the feathered arrow of the lawyer.

² Does he mean those whom written challenges had brought to fight ? or does he allude to the Latin phrase for enlisting : conscripti milites, conscribere exercitus ?

³ Bishop Wilkins, (*Mathem. Magic*,) maintains, that the engines of the ancients, balistæ and catapultæ, did more execution, and were far more portable, than cannon. See likewise sir Clement Edmonds's judicious observations upon Cæsar's Commentaries. Battles in ancient times seem to have been attended with more casualties than since the invention of gunpowder.

For whether you prevail, or lose,
 All must be try'd there in the close ; ¹
 And therefore 'tis not wise to shun
 What you must trust to ere ye 've done. 430
 The law that settles all you do,
 And marries where you did but woo ;
 That makes the most perfidious lover,
 A lady, that's as false, recover ; ²
 And if it judge upon your side, 435
 Will soon extend her for your bride, ³
 And put her person, goods, or lands,
 Or which you like best, int' your hands.
 For law's the wisdom of all ages,
 And manag'd by the ablest sages, 440
 Who, tho' their bus'ness at the bar
 Be but a kind of civil war,
 In which th' engage with fiercer dudgeons
 Than e'er the Grecians did, and Trojans ;
 They never manage the contest 445
 T' impair their public interest,
 Or by their controversies lessen
 The dignity of their profession ;
 Not like us brethern, who divide
 Our commonwealth, the cause, and side ; ⁴ 450
 And tho' we 're all as near of kindred
 As th' outward man is to the inward,
 We agree in nothing, but to wrangle
 About the slightest fingle-fangle,

¹ Ralpho goes on to extol the energy of the pen, which, in the hand of the historian, can controul even the most warlike efforts.

² That is, the law will recover a lady that is as false as the most perfidious lover.

³ Lay an extent upon her : seize her for your use.

⁴ Take part on one side or the other. Whereas we who have a common interest, a common cause, a common party against the royalists and episcopalians, weaken our strength by internal divisions among ourselves.

While lawyers have more sober sense, 455
 Than t' argue at their own expense, ¹
 But make their best advantages
 Of others' quarrels, like the Swiss; ²
 And out of foreign controversies,
 By aiding both sides, fill their purses; 460
 But have no int'rest in the cause
 For which th' engage, and wage the laws,
 Nor further prospect than their pay,
 Whether they lose or win the day.
 And tho' th' abounded in all ages, 465
 With sundry learned clerks and sages;
 Tho' all their bus'ness be dispute,
 Which way they canvass ev'ry suit,
 They 've no disputes about their art,
 Nor in polemics controvert; 470
 While all professions else are found
 With nothing but disputes t' abound:
 Divines of all sorts, and physicians,
 Philosophers, mathematicians;
 The Galenist, and Paracelsian, 475
 Condemn the way each other deals in; ³
 Anatomists dissect and mangle,
 To cut themselves out work to wrangle;
 Astrologers dispute their dreams,
 That in their sleeps they talk of schemes; 480

¹ The wisdom of lawyers is such, that however they may seem to quarrel at the bar, yet they are good friends the moment they leave the court. Unlike us, independents and presbyterians, who, though our opinions are very similar, are always wrangling about the merest trifles.

² The Swiss, if they are well paid, will enter into the service of any foreign power: but, point d'argent, point de Suisse. An old distich says:

Theologis animam subiecit lapsus Adami
 Et corpus medicis, et bona juridicis.

³ The followers of Galen were advocates for the virtues and use of plants; the disciples of Paracelsus recommended chemical preparations.

And heralds stickle, who got who,
So many hundred years ago.

But lawyers are too wise a nation
T' expose their trade to disputation,
Or make the busy rabble judges 485
Of all their secret piques and grudges ;
In which, whoever wins the day,
The whole profession's sure to pay. ¹
Beside, no mountebanks, nor cheats,
Dare undertake to do their feats, 490
When in all other sciences
They swarm like insects, and increase.

For what bigot ² durst ever draw,
By inward light, a deed in law ?
Or could hold forth by revelation, 495
An answer to a declaration ?
For those that meddle with their tools,
Will cut their fingers, if they 're fools :
And if you follow their advice,
In bills, and answers, and replies, 500
They'll write a love-letter in chancery,
Shall bring her upon oath to answer ye,
And soon reduce her to b' your wife,
Or make her weary of her life.

The Knight, who us'd with tricks and shifts 505
To edify by Ralpho's gifts,
But in appearance cry'd him down, ³
To make them better seem his own,
All plagiaries' constant course
Of sinking when they take a purse, ⁴ 510

¹ That is, whoever wins is sure to pay the whole profession ; or rather, whether serjeant A or counsellor B be more successful in abusing each other, the whole profession of the law is disgraced by their scurrilities.

² The accent is here laid on the last syllable of bigot.

³ Perhaps a better reading would be, — cry'd 'em down.

⁴ Such as steal out of other men's works, and abuse the authors they are beholden to, are like highwaymen who abuse those whom

Resolv'd to follow his advice,
 But kept it from him by disguise ;
 And, after stubborn contradiction,
 To counterfeit his own conviction,
 And, by transition, fall upon 515
 The resolution as his own. ¹

Quoth he, This gambol thou advisest
 Is, of all others, the unwisest ;
 For, if I think by law to gain her,
 There's nothing sillier, nor vainer, 520
 'Tis but to hazard my pretence,
 Where nothing's certain but th' expense ;
 To act against myself, and traverse
 My suit and title to her favours ;
 And if she should, which heav'n forbid, 525
 O'erthrow me, as the fiddler did,
 What after-course have I to take,
 'Gainst losing all I have to stake ?
 He that with injury is griev'd,
 And goes to law to be reliev'd, 530
 Is sillier than a sottish chouse,
 Who, when a thief has robb'd his house,
 Applies himself to cunning men,
 To help him to his goods agen ; ²

they rob. Or perhaps sinking may mean stooping, or diving with the hand to reach a person's pocket. Pickpockets in partnership may be apt to *sink* or conceal part of the booty from their companions. But I must refer to the Bow-street Vocabulary. [The meaning is simply the plagiarist conceals his robbery as the pickpocket does his.]

¹ Dr. Thomas Burnet says, *Libentius auscultamus rationibus, et argumentis a nobis ipsis inventis, quàm ab aliis propositis ; ut, cum sententiam mutamus, non tam ab aliis victi, quam a nobismet ipsis edocti, id fecisse videamur.*

² The misfortunes of too many will incline them to subscribe to the truth of this excellent observation. The word *chews* or *chouse*, is derived either from the French, *gausser*, to cheat or laugh at, or from the Italian, *gaffo*, a fool. In Mr. Butler's MS. under these lines, are many severe strictures on lawyers :

More nice and subtle than those wire-drawers
 Of equity and justice, common lawyers ;

When all he can expect to gain, 535
 Is but to squander more in vain :
 And yet I have no other way,
 But is as difficult to play :
 For to reduce her by main force
 Is now in vain ; by fair means, worse ; 540
 But worst of all to give her over,
 'Till she's as desp'rate to recover :
 For bad games are thrown up too soon,
 Until they 're never to be won ;
 But since I have no other course, 545
 But is as bad t' attempt, or worse,
 He that complies against his will,
 Is of his own opinion still,
 Which he may adhere to, yet disown,
 For reasons to himself best known ; 550
 But 'tis not to b' avoided now,
 For Sidrophel resolves to sue ;
 Whom I must answer, or begin,
 Inevitably, first with him ;
 For I've receiv'd advertisement, 555
 By times enough, of his intent ;
 And knowing he that first complains
 Th' advantage of the bus'ness gains ;
 For courts of justice understand
 The plaintiff to be eldest hand ; 560

Who never end, but always prune a suit
 To make it bear the greater store of fruit.
 As labouring men their hands, criers their lungs,
 Porters their backs, lawyers hire out their tongues.
 A tongue to mire and gain accustomed long,
 Grows quite insensible to right or wrong.
 The humourist that would have had a trial,
 With one that did but look upon his dial,
 And sued him but for telling of his clock,
 And saying, 'twas too fast, or slow it struck.

Who what he pleases may aver,
 The other nothing till he swear ; ¹
 Is freely admitted to all grace,
 And lawful favour, by his place ;
 And, for his bringing custom in, 565
 Has all advantages to win :
 I, who resolve to oversee
 No lucky opportunity,
 Will go to council, to advise
 Which way t' encounter, or surprise, 570
 And after long consideration,
 Have found out one to fit th' occasion,
 Most apt for what I have to do,
 As counsellor, and justice too. ¹
 And truly so, no doubt, he was, 575
 A lawyer fit for such a case.

An old dull sot, who told the clock, ²
 For many years at Bridewell-dock,
 At Westminster, and Hicks's-hall,
 And hiccius doctius ³ play'd in all ; 580
 Where, in all governments and times,
 He 'ad been both friend and foe to crimes,
 And us'd two equal ways of gaining,
 By hind'ring justice, or maintaining, ⁴

¹ An answer to a bill in chancery is always upon oath ; — a petition not so.

² Is it probable that the poet had an eye to some particular person in this character. The old annotator says it was one Prideaux ; but gives no further account of him. One of that name was attorney general to the rump, and commissioner of the great seal. He died August 19, in the last year of their reign. Tillotson lived in his family. See Birch's Life of the Archbishop, p. 14. He cannot have been here meant. The poet, I imagine, alludes to some one of a much lower class. See the character of a justice in Butler's Genuine Remains, vol. ii. p. 190.

³ The puisne judge was formerly called the Tell-clock ; as supposed to be not much employed with business in the courts he sat in, but listening how the time went.

⁴ Cant words used by jugglers, corrupted perhaps from *hic est doctior*.

⁴ Mr. Butler served some years as clerk to a justice. The person

To many a whore gave privilege, 585
 And whipp'd, for want of quarterage ;
 Cart-loads of bawds to prison sent,
 For b'ing behind a fortnight's rent ;
 And many a trusty pimp and crony
 To Puddle-dock, for want of money : 590
 Engag'd the constables to seize
 All those that wou'd not break the peace ;
 Nor give him back his own foul words,
 Though sometimes commoners, or lords,
 And kept 'em prisoners of course, 595
 For being sober at ill hours ;
 That in the morning he might free
 Or bind 'em over for his fee.
 Made monsters fine, and puppet-plays,
 For leave to practice in their ways ; 600
 Farm'd out all cheats, and went a share
 With th' headborough and scavenger ;
 And made the dirt i' th' streets compound,
 For taking up the public ground ; ¹
 The kennel, and the king's high way, 605
 For being unmolested, pay ;
 Let out the stocks and whipping-post,
 And cage, to those that gave him most ;
 Impos'd a tax on bakers' ears, ²
 And for false weights on chandelers ; 610
 Made victuallers and vinters fine
 For arbitrary ale and wine : ³

who employed him was an able magistrate, and respectable character : but in that situation he might have had an opportunity of making himself acquainted with the practice of trading justices.

¹ Did not levy the penalty for a nuisance, but took a composition in private.

² That is, commuted the pillory for a mulct at his own discretion. Libanius has an entire oration against an arbitrary law of the magistrates of Antioch, which obliged the country bakers, when they brought bread into the city for sale, to load back with rubbish.

³ For selling ale or wine without licence, or by less than the statutable measure. So Mr. Butler says of his justice, Remains, vol. ii.

But was a kind and constant friend
 To all that regularly offend :
 As residentiary hawds, 615
 And brokers that receive stol'n goods ;
 That cheat in lawful mysteries,
 And pay church-duties, and his fees ;
 But was implacable and awkward,
 To all that interlop'd and hawker'd. ¹ 620
 To this brave man the Knight repairs
 For counsel in his law-affairs,
 And found him mounted in his pew,
 With books and money plac'd for shew,
 Like nest-eggs to make clients lay, 625
 And for his false opinion pay :
 To whom the Knight, with comely grace,
 Put off his hat to put his case ;
 Which he as proudly entertain'd,
 As th' other courteously strain'd ; 630
 And, to assure him 'twas not that
 He look'd for, bid him put on's hat.
 Quoth he, There is one Sidrophel
 Whom I have cudgell'd—Very well—
 And now he brags to have beaten me— 635
 Better and better still, quoth he—
 And vows to stick me to the wall,
 Where'er he meets me—Best of all.
 'Tis true the knave has taken 's oath
 That I robb'd him—Well done, in troth. 640
 When he 'as confess'd he stole my cloak,
 And pick'd my fob, and what he took ;

p. 191. "He does his country signal service in the judicious and mature legitimation of tipling-houses; that the subject be not imposed upon with illegal and *arbitrary* ale."

¹ Travelling dealers, who did not keep any regular shop. "He is very severe to hawkers and interlopers, who commit iniquity on the 'bye." See *Remains*, where the reader may find other strokes of character similar to those here mentioned.

Which was the cause that made me bang him,
 And take my goods again—Marry, ¹ hang him.
 Now, whether I should before-hand, 645
 Swear he robb'd me?—I understand.
 Or bring my action of conversion
 And trover for my goods? ²—Ah, whoreson!
 Or, if 'tis better to endite,
 And bring him to his trial?—Right. 650
 Prevent what he designs to do,
 And swear for th' state against him? ³—True.
 Or whether he that is defendant,
 In this case, has the better end on 't;
 Who, putting in a new cross-bill, 655
 May traverse th' action?—Better still.
 Then there's a lady too—Aye, marry.
 That's easily prov'd accessory;
 A widow, who by solemn vows,
 Contracted to me for my spouse, 660
 Combin'd with him to break her word,
 And has abetted all—Good Lord!
 Suborn'd th' aforesaid Sidrophel
 To tamper with the dev'l of hell,
 Who put m' into a horrid fear, 665
 Fear of my life—Make that appear.
 Made an assault with fiends and men
 Upon my body—Good agen.
 And kept me in a deadly fright,
 And false imprisonment, all night. 670

¹ *Marry*, i. e. very or truly, an adverb of asseveration. Ainsworth thinks it a kind of oath, as if per Mariam—A kind of expletive without much meaning, though perhaps the pettyfogger might wish to be arch on the word *marry*.

² An action of trover is an action brought for recovery of a man's goods, when wrongfully detained by another, and converted to his own use.

³ Swear that a crime was committed by him against the public peace, or peace of the state.

Mean while they robb'd me, and my horse,
 And stole my saddle—Worse and worse.
 And made me mount upon the bare ridge,
 T' avoid a wretcheder miscarriage.

Sir, quoth the Lawyer, not to flatter ye, 675
 You have as good and fair a battery
 As heart can wish, and need not shame
 The proudest man alive to claim :
 For if th' have us'd you as you say,
 Marry, quoth I, God give you joy ; 680
 I wou'd it were my case, I'd give
 More than I'll say, or you'll believe :
 I wou'd so trounce her, and her purse,
 I'd make her kneel for better or worse ;
 For matrimony, and hanging here, 685
 Both go by destiny so clear, ¹
 That you as sure may pick and choose,
 As cross I win, and pile you lose :
 And if I durst, I wou'd advance
 As much in ready maintenance, ² 690
 As upon any case I've known ;
 But we that practice dare not own :
 The law severely contrabands
 Our taking bus'ness off men's hands ;
 'Tis common barratry, ³ that bears 695
 Point-blank an action 'gainst our ears,

¹ See P. ii. c. i. v. 839. Ames, in his *Typographical Antiquities*, first edition, p. 157, mentions a book printed by Robert Wyer, 1542, entitled, *Mystery of Iniquite*, where we may read :

Trewly some men there be
 That lyve always in great horroure,
 And say it goth by destenye
 To hang or wed, both hath one houre ;
 And whether it be, I am well sure,
 Hangynge is better of the twain,
 Sooner done, and shorter payne.

² Maintenance is the unlawful upholding of a cause or person, or it is the buying or obtaining pretended rights to lands.

³ Barratry is the common and unlawful stirring up of suits or quarrels, either in court or elsewhere.

And crops them till there is not leather,
 To stick a pen in left of either ; ¹
 For which some do the summer-sault,
 And o'er the bar, like tumblers, vault : ² 700
 But you may swear at any rate,
 Things not in nature, for the state ;
 For in all courts of justice here
 A witness is not said to swear,
 But make oath, that is, in plain terms, 705
 To forge whatever he affirms.

I thank you, quoth the Knight, for that,
 Because 'tis to my purpose pat—
 For justice, tho' she's painted blind,
 Is to the weaker side inclin'd, 710
 Like charity ; else right and wrong
 Cou'd never hold it out so long,
 And, like blind fortune, with a sleight,
 Conveys men's interest and right,
 From Stiles's pocket into Nokes's, ³ 715
 As easily as hocus pocus ; ⁴
 Plays fast and loose, makes men obnoxious ;
 And clear again, like hiccus doctius.
 Then whether you would take her life,
 Or but recover her for your wife, 720
 Or be content with what she has,
 And let all other matters pass,
 The bus'ness to the law's alone, ⁵
 The proof is all it looks upon ;

¹ Most editions read *pin*, but the author's corrected copy says *pen* ; it being the custom of clerks in office, and writers, to stick their pen behind their ears when they do not employ it in writing.

² Summer-sault, soubresaut, throwing heels over head, a feat of activity performed by tumblers. When a lawyer has been guilty of misconduct, and is not allowed to practise in the courts, he is said to be thrown over the bar.

³ Fictitious names, sometimes used in stating cases, issuing writs, &c.

⁴ Words profanely used by jugglers, if derived, as some suppose, from *hoc est corpus*.

⁵ A better reading perhaps is,

The bus'ness to the law's *all one*.

And you can want no witnesses, 725
 To swear to any thing you please,
 That hardly get their mere expenses
 By th' labour of their consciences,
 Or letting out to hire their ears
 To affidavit customers, 730
 At inconsiderable values,
 To serve for jurymen or tales.¹
 Altho' retain'd in th' hardest matters
 Of trustees and administrators.
 For that, quoth he, let me alone; 735
 We've store of such, and all our own,
 Bred up and tutor'd by our teachers,
 Th' ablest of all conscience-stretchers.²
 That's well, quoth he, but I should guess,
 By weighing all advantages, 740
 Your surest way is first to pitch
 On Bongey for a water-witch;³
 And when y' have hang'd the conjurer,
 Y' have time enough to deal with her.
 In th' int'rim spare for no trepans, 745
 To draw her neck into the banns;
 Ply her with love-letters and billets,
 And bait 'em well for quirks and quillets,⁴

¹ Talesmen are persons of like rank and quality with such of the principal pannel as do not appear, or are challenged; and who, happening to be in court, are taken to supply their places as jurymen.

² Mr. Downing and Stephen Marshal, who absolved from their oaths the prisoners released at Brentford.

³ On Sidrophel the reputed conjurer. The poet calls him Bongey, from a learned friar of that name, who lived in Oxford about the end of the thirteenth century, and was deemed a conjurer by the common people. "There was likewise one mother Bongey, who, in divers books set out by authority, is registered or chronicled by the name of the great witch of Rochester." (Grey.) For a water-witch; for one to be tried by the water-ordeal, or perhaps,

One that told fortunes by casting urine;
 or onc to whom

With urine, they flock for curing. P. ii. c. iii. v. 123.

⁴ Subtleties. Shakspeare frequently used the word quillet. In the

With trains t' inveigle, and surprise
 Her heedless answers and replies ; 750
 And if she miss the mouse-trap lines,
 They'll serve for other by-designs ;
 And make an artist understand,
 To copy out her seal, or hand ;
 Or find void places in the paper, 755
 To steal in something to entrap her ;
 Till, with her worldly goods and body,
 Spite of her heart she has indow'd ye :
 Retain all sorts of witnesses,
 That ply i' th' Temple, under trees ; 760
 Or walk the round, with knights o' th' posts,¹
 About the cross-legg'd knights, their hosts ;²
 Or wait for customers between
 The pillar-rows in Lincoln's-Inn ;
 Where vouchers, forgers, common-bail, 765
 And affidavit-men ne'er fail
 T' expose to sale all sorts of oaths,
 According to their ears and clothes,³

First Part of Henry VI. Act. ii. the Earl of Warwick says :

But in these quirks and quilletts of the law,
 Good faith, I am no wiser than a daw.

And Hamlet says, when contemplating the skull of a lawyer :

Where be his quiddities now? his quilletts? his cases?

Quilletts, in barbarous Latin, is *collecta*. [Quibble, quillet, quip and quirk, have all puzzled the etymologists, and probably will continue to do so ; there is something in words beginning with *qu* wondrously baffling, as the very instrument of the critic's labours, a quill, possesses scarcely a guess at a derivation.]

¹ Witnesses who are ready to swear any thing, whether true or false.

² These witnesses frequently plied for custom about the Temple-church, where are several monuments of knights templars, who are there represented cross-legged : [as everywhere else]—*their host*, because nobody gives them more entertainment than these knights, and they are almost starved.

³ Lord Clarendon, in his History of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 355, says, an Irishman of low condition and meanly clothed, being brought as evidence against lord Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, Mr. Pym gave him money to buy a satin suit and cloak, in which equipage he appeared at the trial. The like was practised in the trial of lord Stafford for the popish plot. See Carte's History of the Life of James Duke of Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 517. It is, I fear, sometimes practised in trials of less importance.

Their only necessary tools,
Besides the Gospel, and their souls ; ¹ 770
And when ye're furnish'd with all purveys,
I shall be ready at your service.

I would not give, quoth Hudibras,
A straw to understand a case,
Without the admirabler skill 775
To wind and manage it at will ;
To veer, and tack, and steer a cause,
Against the weather-gage of laws ;
And ring the changes upon cases,
As plain as noses upon faces ; 780
As you have well instructed me,
For which you've earn'd, here 'tis, your fee.
I long to practise your advice,
And try the subtle artifice ;
To bait a letter as you bid — 785
As, not long after, thus he did :
For, having pump'd up all his wit,
And humm'd upon it, thus he writ.

¹ When a witness swears he holds the Gospel in his right hand, and kisses it : the Gospel therefore is called his tool, by which he damns his other tool, namely his soul.



AN HEROICAL EPISTLE
OF
HUDIBRAS TO HIS LADY.



I, who was once as great as Cæsar,
 Am now reduc'd to Nebuchadnezzar ; ¹
 And from as fam'd a conqueror,
 As ever took degree in war,
 Or did his exercise in battle, 5
 By you turn'd out to grass with cattle.
 For since I am deny'd access
 To all my earthly happiness,
 Am fall'n from the paradise
 Of your good graces, and fair eyes ; 10
 Lost to the world, and you, I'm sent
 To everlasting banishment,
 Where all the hopes I had t' have won
 Your heart, b'ing dash'd, will break my own.

¹ See Dan. iv. 32. 33.

Carmina qui quondam studio florente peregi
 Flebilis heu mæstos cogor inire modos.

Boethius de Consol. Philosoph.

Yet if you were not so severe 15
To pass your doom before you hear,
You'd find, upon my just defence,
How y' have wrong'd my innocence.
That once I made a vow to you,
Which yet is unperform'd 'tis true; 20
But not because it is unpaid
'Tis violated, though delay'd.
Or if it were, it is no fault
So heinous, as you'd have it thought;
'To undergo the loss of ears, 25
Like vulgar hackney perjurers;
For there's a difference in the case,
Between the noble and the base;
Who always are observ'd to 've done 't
Upon as diffrent an account; 30
The one for great and weighty cause,
To salve in honour ugly flaws;
For none are like to do it sooner
Than those who are nicest of their honour;
The other, for base gain and pay, 35
Forswear and perjure by the day,
And make th' exposing and retailing
Their souls, and consciences, a calling.
It is no scandal, nor aspersion,
Upon a great and noble person, 40
To say, he nat'rally abhorr'd
Th' old-fashion'd trick, to keep his word,
Tho' 'tis perfidiousness and shame,
In meaner men to do the same:
For to be able to forget, 45
Is found more useful to the great
Than gout, or deafness, or bad eyes
To make 'em pass for wond'rous wise.
But tho' the law, on perjurers,
Inflicts the forfeiture of ears, 50

It is not just, that does exempt
 The guilty, and punish the innocent.¹
 To make the ears repair the wrong
 Committed by th' ungovern'd tongue;
 And when one member is forsworn, 55
 Another to be cropp'd or torn.
 And if you shou'd, as you design,
 By course of law, recover mine,
 You're like, if you consider right,
 To gain but little honour by't. 60
 For he that for his lady's sake
 Lays down his life, or limbs, at stake,
 Does not so much deserve her favour,
 As he that pawns his soul to have her.
 This y' have acknowledg'd I have done, 65
 Altho' you now disdain to own;
 But sentence² what you rather ought
 T' esteem good service than a fault.
 Besides, oaths are not bound to bear
 That literal sense the words infer, 70
 But, by the practice of the age,
 Are to be judg'd how far th' engage;
 And where the sense by custom's checkt,
 Are found void, and of none effect,
 For no man takes or keeps a vow, 75
 But just as he sees others do;
 Nor are they oblig'd to be so brittle,
 As not to yield and bow a little:
 For as best temper'd blades are found,
 Before they break, to bend quite round; 80
 So truest oaths are still most tough,
 And, tho' they bow, are breaking proof.

¹ A better reading is—*th'* innocent.

² Sentence, that is, condemn or pass sentence upon.

Then wherefore should they not b' allow'd
 In love a greater latitude? ¹
 For as the law of arms approves 85
 All ways to conquest, ² so shou'd love's;
 And not be ty'd to true or false,
 But make that justest that prevails:
 For how can that which is above
 All empire, high and mighty love, ³ 90
 Submit its great prerogative,
 To any other pow'r alive?
 Shall love, that to no crown gives place,
 Become the subject of a case?
 The fundamental law of nature, 95
 Be over-rul'd by those made after?
 Commit the censure of its cause
 To any, but its own great laws?
 Love, that's the world's preservative,
 That keeps all souls of things alive; 100
 Controuls the mighty pow'r of fate,
 And gives mankind a longer date;
 The life of nature that restores
 As fast as time and death devours;
 To whose free gift the world does owe 105
 Not only earth, but heaven too: ⁴

¹ ——— perjuriam ridet amantem
 Jupiter, et ventos irrita ferre jubet. Tib. iii. El. vii. 17.
 So Callimachus, Epig. 26.

² Dolus an virtus, quis, in hoste, requirit?

³ ——— "Ερως δὲ τῶν θεῶν
 "Ἰσχυν ἔχων πλείστην, ἐπὶ τούτου δεικνύται·
 Διὰ τοῦτου ἐπιποροῦσι τοὺς ἄλλους θεούς,

Menand. Frag.

⁴ Quæ mare naverum, quæ terras frugiferentes
 Concelebras; per te quoniam genus omne animantum
 Concipitur, visitque exortum lumina solis. Lucret. i. 3.

Quæ quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas,
 Nec sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras
 Exoritur, neque fit lætum, neque amabile quicquam.

Idem, i. 22.

For love's the only trade that's driven,
 The interest of state in heav'n,¹
 Which nothing but the soul of man
 Is capable to entertain. 110
 For what can earth produce, but love,
 To represent the joys above ?
 Or who but lovers can converse,
 Like angels by the eye-discourse ?
 Address, and compliment by vision, 115
 Make love, and court by intuition ?
 And burn in am'rous flames as fierce,
 As those celestial ministers ?
 Then how can anything offend,
 In order to so great an end ? 120
 Or heav'n itself a sin resent,
 That for its own supply was meant ?
 That merits, in a kind mistake,
 A pardon for th' offence's sake ?
 Or if it did not, but the cause 125
 Were left to th' injury of laws,
 What tyranny can disapprove,
 There should be equity in love ?
 For laws, that are inanimate,
 And feel no sense of love or hate,² 130
 That have no passion of their own,
 Nor pity to be wrought upon,
 Are only proper to inflict
 Revenge on criminals as strict.
 But to have power to forgive, 135
 Is empire and prerogative ;

¹ Waller says :

All that we know of those above,
 Is, that they live and that they love.

Our Saviour says, "Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

² Aristotle defined law to be, reason without passion ; and despotism, or arbitrary power to be, passion without reason.

And 'tis in crowns a nobler gem
 To grant a pardon, than condemn.
 Then, since so few do what they ought,
 'Tis great t' indulge a well-meant fault ; 140
 For why should he who made address,
 All humble ways, without success ;
 And met with nothing in return
 But insolence, affronts and scorn,
 Not strive by wit to counter-mine, 145
 And bravely carry his design ?
 He who was us'd so unlike a soldier,
 Blown up with philters of love-powder ;
 And after letting blood, and purging,
 Condemn'd to voluntary scourging ; 150
 Alarm'd with many a horrid fright,
 And claw'd by goblins in the night ;
 Insulted on, revil'd and jeer'd,
 With rude invasion of his beard ;
 And when your sex was foully scandal'd, 155
 As foully by the rabble handled ;
 Attacked by despicable foes,
 And drubb'd with mean and vulgar blows ;
 And, after all, to be debarr'd
 So much as standing on his guard ; 160
 When horses, being spurr'd and prick'd,
 Have leave to kick for being kick'd ?
 Or why should you, whose mother-wits¹
 Are furnished with all perquisites ;
 That with your breeding teeth begin, 165
 And nursing babies that lie in ;
 B' allow'd to put all tricks upon
 Our cully sex, and we use none ?
 We, who have nothing but frail vows
 Against your stratagems t' oppose ; 170

¹ Why should you, who were sharp and witty from your infancy, who bred wit with your teeth, &c.

Or oaths, more feeble than your own,
 By which we are no less put down ? ¹
 You wound, like Parthians, while you fly,
 And kill with a retreating eye ; ²
 Retire the more, the more we press, 175
 To draw us into ambushes :
 As pirates all false colours wear,
 T' intrap th' unwary mariner ;
 So women, to surprise us, spread
 The borrow'd flags of white and red ; 180
 Display 'em thicker on their cheeks,
 Than their old grand-mothers, the Picts ;
 And raise more devils with their looks,
 Than conjurers' less subtle books :
 Lay trains of amorous intrigues, 185
 In tow'r, and curls, and periwigs, ³
 With greater art and cunning rear'd,
 Than Philip Nye's thanksgiving beard ; ⁴
 Prepost'rously t' entice and gain
 Those to adore 'em they disdain ; 190

¹ That is, by which oaths of yours we are no less subdued than by your stratagems.

² Fidentemque fugâ Parthum versisque sagittis.

Virg. Georg. iii. 31.

The Parthians had the art of shooting their arrows behind them, and making their flight more destructive to the enemy than their attack. Seneca says :

Terga conversi metuenda Parthi.

³ —tanta est quærendi cura decoris

Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum

Ædificat caput. Andromachen a fronte videbis

Post minor est.—

Juvenal. vi. 500.

If we may judge by figures on the imperial coins, even the most expert of modern hair-dressers are far inferior in their business to the ancients.

⁴ Nye first entered at Brazen-nose college, Oxford, and afterwards removed to Magdalen-hall. He took his degrees, and then went to Holland. In 1640 he returned home a furious presbyterian ; and was sent to Scotland to forward the covenant. He then became a strenuous preacher on the side of the independents : was put into Dr. Featly's living at Acton, and went there every Sunday in a coach with four horses. He opposed Lilly the astrologer with great violence, and for

And only draw 'em in to clog,
 With idle names, a catalogue.¹
 A lover is, the more he's brave,
 T' his mistress but the more a slave;²
 And whatsoever she commands, 195
 Becomes a favour from her hands,
 Which he's oblig'd t' obey, and must,
 Whether it be unjust or just.
 Then when he is compell'd by her
 T' adventures he wou'd else forbear, 200
 Who, with his honour, can withstand,
 Since force is greater than command?
 And when necessity's obey'd,
 Nothing can be unjust or bad:³
 And therefore, when the mighty pow'rs 205
 Of love, our great ally, and yours,
 Join'd forces not to be withstood
 By frail enamour'd flesh and blood,

this service was rewarded with the office of holding forth upon thanksgiving days. Wherefore

He thought upon it, and resolv'd to put
 His beard into as wonderful a cut.

Butler's MS.

This preacher's beard is honoured with an entire poem in Butler's *Genuine Remains*, published by Thyer, vol. i. p. 177. When the head of a celebrated court chaplain and preacher had been dressed in a superior style, the friseur exclaimed, with a mixture of admiration and self-applause, "I'll be hang'd if any person of taste can attend to one word of "the sermon to-day."

¹ To increase the list of their discarded suitors.

² The poet may here possibly allude to some well known characters of his time. "The lady Dysert came to have so much power over the "lord Lauderdale, that it lessened him very much in the esteem of all "the world; for he delivered himself up to all her humours and passions." Burnet's *History*, vol. i. p. 244. Anne Clarges, at first the mistress, and afterward the wife of general Monk, duke of Albemarle, gained the most undue influence over that intrepid commander. Though never afraid of bullets, he was often terrified by the fury of his wife.

³ *Necessitas, non habet legem*, is a known proverb.

Δείνῃς ἀνάγκῃς οὐδεν ἰσχύει πλέον· Euripidis *Helenæ*.
Pareatur necessitati, quam ne dii quidem superant.—Livy.

All I have done, unjust or ill,
 Was in obedience to your will, 210
 And all the blame that can be due
 Falls to your cruelty, and you.
 Nor are those scandals I confest,
 Against my will and interest,
 More than is daily done, of course, 215
 By all men, when they 're under force :
 Whence some, upon the rack, confess
 What th' hangman and their prompters please ;
 But are no sooner out of pain,
 Than they deny it all again. 220
 But when the devil turns confessor, ¹
 Truth is a crime he takes no pleasure
 To hear or pardon, like the founder
 Of liars, whom they all claim under : ²
 And therefore when I told him none, 225
 I think it was the wiser done.
 Nor am I without precedent,
 The first that on th' adventure went ;
 All mankind ever did of course,
 And daily does the same, or worse. 230
 For what romance can shew a lover,
 That had a lady to recover,
 And did not steer a nearer course,
 To fall aboard in his amours ?

¹ Suppose we read :

——— When *a* devil turns confessor.

² See St. John, ch. viii. v. 44. Butler, in his MS. Common-place book, says :

As lyars, with long use of telling lyes,
 Forget at length if they are true or false,
 So those that plod on any thing too long
 Know nothing whether th' are in the right or wrong,
 For what are all your demonstrations else,
 But to the higher powers of sense appeals ;
 Senses that th' undervalue and contemn
 As if it lay below their wits and them.

And what at first was held a crime, 235
Has turn'd to hon'able in time.

To what a height did infant Rome,
By ravishing of women, come ? ¹
When men upon their spouses seiz'd,
And freely marry'd where they pleas'd, 240
They ne'er forswore themselves, nor ly'd,
Nor, in the mind they were in, dy'd ;
Nor took the pains t' address and sue,
Nor play'd the masquerade to woo :
Disdain'd to stay for friends' consents, 245
Nor juggled about settlements ;
Did need no licence, nor no priest,
Nor friends, nor kindred, to assist ;
Nor lawyers, to join land and money
In the holy state of matrimony, 250
Before they settled hands and hearts,
Till alimony or death departs ; ²
Nor wou'd endure to stay, until
Th' had got the very bride's good-will,
But took a wise and shorter course 255
To win the ladies—downright force ;
And justly made 'em prisoners then,
As they have, often since, us men,
With acting plays, and dancing jigs, ³
The luckiest of all love's intrigues ; 260

¹ Florus says that Romulus, wanting inhabitants for his new city, crected an asylum or sanctuary for robbers in a neighbouring grove, and presently he had people in abundance. But this was a people only for an age, a colony only of males, therefore they had still to supply themselves with wives, and not obtaining them from their neighbours on a civil application, they took them by force.

² Thus printed in some editions of the Prayer Book, afterwards altered, " 'till death us do part," as mentioned in a former note. Suppose we here read, according to some editions, 'Till alimony, or death *them parts*.

³ Simulatis quippe ludis equestribus, virgines, quæ ad spectaculum venerant, præda fuere. Pretending to exhibit some fine shews and diversions, they drew together a concourse of young women, and seized them for their wives.

And when they had them at their pleasure,
 They talk'd of love and flames at leisure ;
 For after matrimony's over,
 He that holds out but half a lover,
 Deserves, for ev'ry minute, more 265
 Than half a year of love before ;
 For which the dames, in contemplation
 Of that best way of application,
 Prov'd nobler wives than e'er were known,
 By suit, or treaty, to be won ; ¹ 270
 And such as all posterity
 Cou'd never equal, nor come nigh.

For women first were made for men,
 Not men for them.—It follows, then,
 That men have right to every one, 275
 And they no freedom of their own ;
 And therefore men have pow'r to chuse,
 But they no charter to refuse.
 Hence 'tis apparent that what course,
 Soe'er we take to your amours, 280
 Though by the indirectest way,
 'Tis not injustice nor foul play ;
 And that you ought to take that course,
 As we take you, for better or worse,
 And gratefully submit to those 285
 Who you, before another, chose.
 For why shou'd ev'ry savage beast
 Exceed his great lord's interest ? ²

¹ When the Sabines came with a large army to demand their daughters, and the two nations were preparing to decide the matter by fight, *sævientibus intervenere raptæ, laceris comis*—the women who had been carried away, ran between the armies with expressions of grief and effected a reconciliation.

² That is, man, sometimes called lord of the world :

Man of all creatures the most fierce and wild
 That ever God made or the devil spoil'd :
 The most courageous of men, by want,
 As well as honour, are made valiant.

Butler's MS.

Have freer pow'r than he, in grace,
 And nature, o'er the creature has ? 290
 Because the laws he since has made
 Have cut off all the pow'r he had ;
 Retrench'd the absolute dominion
 That nature gave him over women ;
 When all his pow'r will not extend 295
 One law of nature to suspend ;
 And but to offer to repeal
 The smallest clause, is to repel.
 This, if men rightly understood
 Their privilege, they would make good, 300
 And not, like sots, permit their wives
 T' encroach on their prerogatives,
 For which sin they deserve to be
 Kept, as they are, in slavery :
 And this some precious gifted teachers, ¹ 305
 Unrev'rently reputed leachers,
 And disobey'd in making love,
 Have vow'd to all the world to prove,
 And make ye suffer as you ought,
 For that uncharitable fault: 310
 But I forget myself, and rove
 Beyond th' instructions of my love.
 Forgive me, Fair, and only blame
 Th' extravagancy of my flame,
 Since 'tis too much, at once to show 315
 Excess of love and temper too ;
 All I have said that's bad and true,
 Was never meant to aim at you,
 Who have so sov'reign a controul
 O'er that poor slave of your's, my soul, 320

¹ Mr. Case, as some have supposed, but according to others, Dr. Burgess, or Hugh Peters,

That, rather than to forfeit you,
 Has ventur'd loss of heav'n too ;
 Both with an equal pow'r possest,
 To render all that serve you blest ;
 But none like him, who's destin'd either 325
 To have or lose you both together ;
 And if you'll but this fault release,
 For so it must be, since you please,
 I'll pay down all that vow, and more,
 Which you commanded, and I swore, 330
 And expiate, upon my skin,
 Th' arrears in full of all my sin :
 For 'tis but just that I should pay
 Th' accruing penance for delay,
 Which shall be done, until it move 335
 Your equal pity and your love.

The Knight, perusing this Epistle,
 Believ'd he 'ad brought her to his whistle ;
 And read it, like a jocund lover,
 With great applause, t' himself, twice over ; 340
 Subscrib'd his name, but at a fit
 And humble distance, to his wit :
 And dated it with wondrous art,
 Giv'n from the bottom of his heart ;
 Then seal'd it with his coat of love, 345
 A smoking faggot—and above
 Upon a scroll—I burn, and weep—
 And near it—For her ladyship,
 Of all her sex most excellent,
 These to her gentle hands present. ¹ 350

¹ It was fashionable before Mr. Butler's time to be prolix in the superscription of letters. Common forms were,—To my much honoured friend—To the most excellent lady—To my loving cousin—These present with care and speed, &c.

Then gave it to his faithful squire,
With lessons how t' observe, and eye her.

She first consider'd which was better,
To send it back, or burn the letter :

But guessing that it might import,
Tho' nothing else, at least her sport,
She open'd it, and read it out,

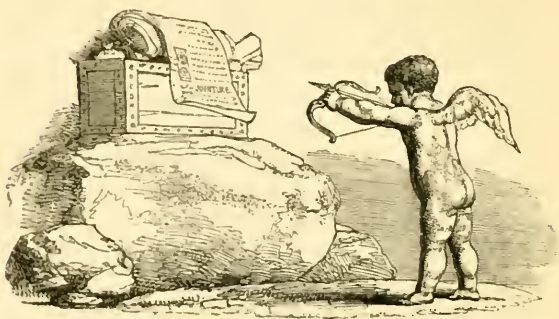
With many a smile and leering flout :

Resolv'd to answer it in kind,

And thus perform'd what she design'd.

355

360



THE LADY'S ANSWER
TO
THE KNIGHT.



THAT you 're a beast and turn'd to grass,
Is no strange news, nor ever was ;
At least to me, who once, you know,
Did from the pound replevin you, ¹
When both your sword and spurs were won 5
In combat, by an Amazon ;
That sword that did, like fate, determine
Th' inevitable death of vermin,
And never dealt its furious blows,
But cut the throats of pigs and cows, 10
By Trulla was, in single fight,
Disarm'd and wrested from its Knight,
Your heels degraded of your spurs,
And in the stocks close prisoners :
Where still they 'd lain, in base restraint, 15
If I, in pity of your complaint,

¹ A replevin is a *re*-deliverance of the thing distrained, to remain with the first possessor on security.

Had not, on hon'able conditions,
 Releas't 'em from the worst of prisons ;
 And what return that favour met,
 You cannot, tho' you wou'd forget ; 20
 When being free, you strove t' evade,
 The oaths you had in prison made ;
 Forswore yourself, and first deny'd it,
 But after own'd, and justify'd it :
 And when y' had falsely broke one vow, 25
 Absolv'd yourself, by breaking two.
 For while you sneakingly submit,
 And beg for pardon at our feet ; ¹
 Discourag'd by your guilty fears,
 To hope for quarter, for your ears ; 30
 And doubting 'twas in vain to sue,
 You claim us boldly as your due,
 Declare that treachery and force,
 To deal with us, is th' only course ;
 We have no title nor pretence 35
 To body, soul, or conscience,
 But ought to fall to that man's share
 That claims us for his proper ware :
 These are the motives which, t' induce,
 Or fright us into love, you use ; 40
 A pretty new way of gallanting,
 Between soliciting and ranting ;
 Like sturdy beggars, that intreat
 For charity at once, and threat.
 But since you undertake to prove 45
 Your own propriety in love,
 As if we were but lawful prize
 In war, between two enemies,
 Or forfeitures which ev'ry lover,
 That would but sue for, might recover, 50

¹ The widow, to keep up her dignity and importance, speaks of herself in the plural number.

It is not hard to understand
 The myst'ry of this bold demand,
 That cannot at our persons aim,
 But something capable of claim. ¹

'Tis not those paltry counterfeit 55
 French stones, which in our eyes you set,
 But our right diamonds, that inspire
 And set your am'rous hearts on fire ;
 Nor can those false St. Martin's beads ²
 Which on our lips you lay for reds, 60
 And make us wear like Indian dames, ³
 Add fuel to your scorching flames,
 But those two rubies of the rock,
 Which in our cabinets we lock.
 'Tis not those orient pearls, our teeth, ⁴ 65
 That you are so transported with,
 But those we wear about our necks,
 Produce those amorous effects.
 Nor is 't those threads of gold, our hair,
 The periwigs you make us wear ; 70

¹ Their property.

² That is, artificial jewels. How they came to be called Saint Martin's beads I know not ; unless from St. Martino near mount Vesuvius, where the ejected lava is collected and applied to this purpose. Mr. Montague Bacon says, that at Rochelle, not far from St. Martin's, there is a sort of red stones called St. Martin's beads.

³ Female savages in many parts of the globe wear ornaments of fish bone, or glass when they can get it, on their lips and noses.

⁴ In the History of Don Fenise, a romance translated from the Spanish of Francisco de las Coveras, and printed 1656, mentioned by Dr. Grey, p. 269, is the following passage : " My covetousness exceeding " my love, counselled me that it was better to have gold in money than " in threads of hair ; and to possess pearls that resemble teeth, than " teeth that were like pearls."

In praising Chloris, moons, and stars, and skies,
 Are quickly made to match her face and eyes ;
 And gold and rubies, with as little care,
 To fit the colour of her lips and hair :
 And mixing suns, and flow'rs, and pearl, and stones,
 Make them serve all complexions at once :
 With these fine fancies in hap hazard writ,
 I could make verses without art or wit.

Butler's Remains, v. i. p. 88.

But those bright guineas in our chests,
 That light the wildfire in your breasts.
 These love-tricks I've been vers'd in so,
 That all their sly intrigues I know,
 And can unriddle, by their tones, 75
 Their mystic cabals, and jargones;
 Can tell what passions, by their sounds,
 Pine for the beauties of my grounds;
 What raptures fond and amorous,
 O' th' charms and graces of my house; 80
 What extasy and scorching flame,
 Burns for my money in my name;
 What from th' unnatural desire,
 To beasts and cattle, takes its fire;
 What tender sigh, and trickling tear, 85
 Longs for a thousand pounds a year;
 And languishing transports are fond
 Of statute, mortgage, bill, and bond.¹

These are th' attracts which most men fall
 Enamour'd, at first sight, withal; 90
 To these th' address with serenades,
 And court with balls and masquerades;
 And yet, for all the yearning pain
 Ye've suffer'd for their loves in vain,
 I fear they'll prove so nice and coy, 95
 To have, and t' hold, and to enjoy;
 That all your oaths and labour lost,
 They'll ne'er turn ladies of the post.²
 This is not meant to disapprove
 Your judgment, in your choice of love, 100
 Which is so wise, the greatest part
 Of mankind study 't as an art;

¹ Statute is a short writing called Statute Marchant, or Statute Staple, in the nature of a bond, &c. made according to the form expressly provided in certain statutes, 5th Hen. iv. c. 12, and others.

² That is, will never swear for you, or vow to take you for a husband.

For love shou'd, like a deodand,
 Still fall to th' owner of the land ; ¹
 And where there 's substance for its ground, 105
 Cannot but be more firm and sound, ²
 Than that which has the slighter basis
 Of airy virtue, wit, and graces ;
 Which is of such thin subtlety,
 It steals and creeps in at the eye, 110
 And, as it can't endure to stay,
 Steals out again, as nice a way. ³
 But love, that its extraction owns
 From solid gold and precious stones,
 Must, like its shining parents, prove 115
 As solid, and as glorious love.
 Hence 'tis you have no way t' express
 Our charms and graces but by these ;
 For what are lips, and eyes, and teeth, ⁴
 Which beauty invades and conquers with, 120
 But rubies, pearls, and diamonds,
 With which a philter love commands ? ⁵
 This is the way all parents prove,
 In managing their children's love ;

¹ Any moving thing which occasions the death of a man is forfeited to the lord of the manor. It was originally intended that he should dispose of it in acts of charity : hence the name deodand. Or it is a thing given, or rather forfeited to God, for the pacification of his wrath, in case of misadventure, whereby any christian man cometh to a violent end, without the fault of any reasonable creature. Lewis XIV. and others born of mothers that had long been barren, were called Adeo-dati.

² Optima sed quare Cesennia teste marito ?
 Bis quingenta dedit, tanti vocat ille pudicam ;
 Nec Veneris pharetris macer est ; aut lampade fervet :
 Inde faces ardent, veniunt a dote sagittæ.

Juvenal, vi. 135.

³ Farquhar has this thought in his dialogue between Archer and Cherry. See the Beaux Stratagem.

⁴ τίνι δεδούλωται ποτε ;
 "Οψει ; φλύαρία.——Menand. Fragm.

⁵ Suppose we read, as in some editions,
With which as philters love commands.

That force 'em t' intermarry and wed, 125
 As if th' were burying of the dead ;
 Cast earth to earth, as in the grave,
 To join in wedlock all they have,
 And, when the settlement's in force,
 Take all the rest for better or worse ; 130
 For money has a pow'r above
 The stars, and fate, to manage love, ¹
 Whose arrows, learned poets hold,
 That never miss, are tipp'd with gold. ²
 And tho' some say, the parents' claims 135
 To make love in their children's names, ³
 Who, many times, at once provide
 The nurse, the husband, and the bride,
 Feel darts and charms, attracts and flames,
 And woo, and contract, in their names, 140
 And as they christen, use to marry 'em,
 And, like their gossips, answer for 'em ;
 Is not to give in matrimony,
 But sell and prostitute for money.
 'Tis better than their own betrothing, 145
 Who often do 't for worse than nothing ;
 And when they 're at their own dispose,
 With greater disadvantage choose.

¹ Et genus et formam regina Pecunia donat,
 Ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.

Hor. Epist. lib. i. vi. 37.

Ἐγὼ δ' ὑπέλαβον χρησίμους εἶναι θεοὺς

Τ' ἀργύριον ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ χρυσίον μόνον. —

Menand. Frag.

² In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, i. 468, Cupid employs two arrows, one of gold, and the other of lead: the former causing love, the latter aversion.

Eque sagittiferâ prompsit duo tela pharetrâ
 Diversorum operum: fugat hoc, facit illud amorem.

Quod facit auratum est, et cuspidē fulget acutâ:

Quod fugat obtusum est, et habet sub arundine plumbum.

³ Though it is thus printed in all the copies I have seen, yet *claim* and *name* should seem a better reading, to avoid false concord: for *claim* is the nominative case to *Is* in verse 143.

All this is right ; but, for the course
 You take to do 't, by fraud or force, 150
 'Tis so ridiculous, as soon
 As told, 'tis never to be done, ¹
 No more than setters can betray, ²
 That tell what tricks they are to play.
 Marriage, at best, is but a vow, 155
 Which all men either break, or bow ;
 Then what will those forbear to do,
 Who perjure when they do but woo ?
 Such as beforehand swear and lie,
 For earnest to their treachery, 160
 And, rather than a crime confess,
 With greater strive to make it less :
 Like thieves, who, after sentence past,
 Maintain their inn'cence to the last ;
 And when their crimes were made appear, 165
 As plain as witnesses can swear,
 Yet when the wretches come to die,
 Will take upon their death a lie.
 Nor are the virtues you confess'd
 T' your ghostly father, as you guess'd, 170
 So slight as to be justify'd,
 By being as shamefully deny'd ;
 As if you thought your word would pass,
 Point blank on both sides of a case ;
 Or credit were not to be lost 175
 B' a brave knight-errant of the post,

¹ See P. i. c. ii. l. 676 :

Shall dictum factum both be brought
 To condign punishment.

² Setter, a term frequent in the comedies of the last century : sometimes it seems to be a pimp, sometimes a spy, but most usually an attendant on a cheating gamester, who introduces unpractised youths to be pillaged, by him ; what a setting dog is to a sportsman.

That eats perfidiously his word,
 And swears his ears through a two-inch board ; ¹
 Can own the same thing, and disown,
 And perjure booty pro and con ; 180
 Can make the Gospel serve his turn,
 And help him out to be forsworn ;
 When 'tis laid hands upon, and kist,
 To be betray'd and sold, like Christ.
 These are the virtues in whose name 185
 A right to all the world you claim,
 And boldly challenge a dominion,
 In grace and nature, o'er all women ;
 Of whom no less will satisfy,
 Than all the sex, your tyranny : 190
 Altho' you'll find it a hard province,
 With all your crafty frauds and covins, ²
 To govern such a num'rous crew,
 Who, one by one, now govern you ;
 For if you all were Solomons, 195
 And wise and great as he was once,
 You'll find they're able to subdue,
 As they did him, and baffle you.
 And if you are impos'd upon,
 'Tis by your own temptation done : 200
 That with your ignorance invite,
 And teach us how to use the slight.
 For when we find y're still more taken
 With false attracts of our own making,

¹ That is, endeavours to shield himself from the punishment due to perjury, the loss of his ears, by a desperate perseverance in false swearing. A person is said to swear through a two inch board, when he makes oath of any thing which was concealed from him by a thick door or partition.

² Covin is a term of law, signifying a deceitful compact between two or more, to deceive or prejudice others.

Swear that's a rose, and that's a stone, 205
 Like sots, to us that laid it on,
 And what we did but slightly prime,
 Most ignorantly daub in rhyme ;
 You force us, in our own defences,
 To copy beams and influences ; 210
 To lay perfections on the graces,
 And draw attracts upon our faces ;
 And, in compliance to your wit,
 Your own false jewels counterfeit :
 For, by the practice of those arts, 215
 We gain a greater share of hearts ;
 And those deserve in reason most,
 That greatest pains and study cost ;
 For great perfections are, like heav'n,
 Too rich a present to be giv'n : 220
 Nor are those master-strokes of beauty
 To be perform'd without hard duty,
 Which, when they're nobly done, and well,
 The simple natural excel.
 How fair and sweet the planted rose, ¹ 225
 Beyond the wild in hedges grows !
 For, without art, the noblest seeds
 Of flowers degenerate into weeds :
 How dull and rugged, ere 'tis ground,
 And polish'd, looks a diamond ? 230
 Though paradise were e'er so fair,
 It was not kept so without care.

¹ This and the following lines are beautiful. Mr. Bacon supposes, that the poet alludes to Milton, when he says,

Though paradise were e'er so fair,
 It was not kept so without care.

The moral sense of the passage may be found in Horace, lib. iv. O. 4.

Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam
 Rectique cultus pectora roborant.

And the sweetness of the verse in Catull. Carm. Nuptial. 39, &c.

Ut flos in septis secretus nascitur hortis,
 Ignotus pecori, nullo contusus aratro,
 Quem mulcent auræ, firmat sol, educat imber.

The whole world, without art and dress,
Would be but one great wilderness ;
And mankind but a savage herd, 235
For all that nature has conferred :
This does but rough-hew and design,
Leaves art to polish and refine.
Though women first were made for men,
Yet men were made for them agen : 240
For when, out-witted by his wife,
Man first turn'd tenant but for life, ¹
If woman had not interven'd,
How soon had mankind had an end !
And that it is in being yet, 245
To us alone you are in debt.
Then where's your liberty of choice,
And our unnatural no-voice ?
Since all the privilege you boast,
And falsely usurp'd, or vainly lost, 250
Is now our right, to whose creation
You owe your happy restoration.
And if we had not weighty cause
To not appear in making laws,
We cou'd, in spite of all your tricks, 255
And shallow formal politics,
Force you our managements t' obey,
As we to yours, in shew, give way.
Hence 'tis, that while you vainly strive
T' advance your high prerogative, 260
You basely, after all your braves,
Submit and own yourselves our slaves ;
And 'cause we do not make it known,
Nor publicly our int'rests own,
Like sots, suppose we have no shares 265
In ord'ring you, and your affairs,

¹ i. e. When man became subject to death by eating the forbidden fruit at the persuasion of the woman.



J. Cooper sculp.

JOHN the 1st or WILFRIE JOAN.

from a drawing by J. H. P.

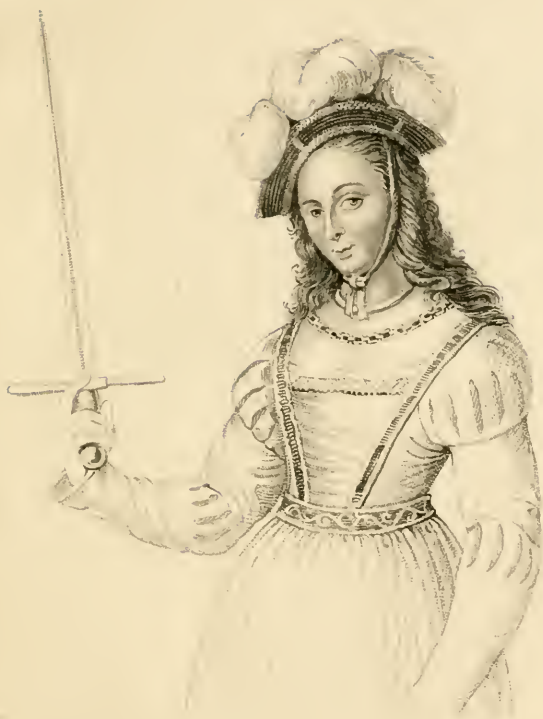
When all your empire, and command,
 You have from us, at second hand ;
 As if a pilot, that appears
 To sit still only, while he steers, 270
 And does not make a noise and stir,
 Like ev'ry common mariner,
 Knew nothing of the chart, nor star,
 And did not guide the man of war :
 Nor we, because we don't appear 275
 In councils, do not govern there :
 While, like the mighty Prester John,
 Whose person none dares look upon, ¹
 But is preserv'd in close disguise,
 From b'ing made cheap to vulgar eyes, 280
 W' enjoy as large a pow'r unseen,
 To govern him, as he does men :
 And, in the right of our Pope Joan,
 Make emp'rors at our feet fall down ;
 Or Joan de Pucelle's braver name, 285
 Our right to arms and conduct claim ;
 Who, tho' a spinster, yet was able
 To serve France for a grand constable.
 We make and execute all laws,
 Can judge the judges, and the cause ; 290
 Prescribe all rules of right or wrong,
 To th' long robe, and the longer tongue,

¹ The name or title of Prester John, has been given by travellers to the king of Tenduc in Asia, who, like the Abyssine, or Ethiopian emperors, preserved great state, and did not condescend to be seen by his subjects above twice or three times in a year. Mandeville, who pretends to have travelled over Prester John's country, and is very prolix on the subject, makes him sovereign of an archipelago of isles in India beyond Baetria, and says that, " a former emperor travelled into Egypt, " where being present at divine service, he asked who those persons " were that stood before the bishop ? And being told they should be " priests, he said, he would no more be called king, nor emperor, but " priest ; and would have the name of him that came first out of the " priests, and was called John, and so have all the emperors since been " called Prester John."—Cap. 99.

'Gainst which the world has no defence,
 But our more pow'rful eloquence.
 We manage things of greatest weight 295
 In all the world's affairs of state ;
 Are ministers of war and peace,
 That sway all nations how we please.
 We rule all churches, and their flocks,
 Heretical and orthodox, 300
 And are the heavenly vehicles
 O' th' spirits in all conventicles : ¹
 By us is all commerce and trade
 Improv'd, and manag'd, and decay'd :
 For nothing can go off so well, 305
 Nor bears that price, as what we sell.
 We rule in ev'ry public meeting,
 And make men do what we judge fitting ; ²
 Are magistrates in all great towns,
 Where men do nothing but wear gowns. 310
 We make the man of war strike sail,
 And to our braver conduct veil,
 And, when he 'as chas'd his enemies,
 Submit to us upon his knees.
 Is there an officer of state, 315
 Untimely rais'd, or magistrate,
 That's haughty and imperious ?
 He's but a journeyman to us,
 That, as he gives us cause to do't,
 Can keep him in, or turn him out. 320
 We are your guardians, that increase,
 Or waste your fortunes how we please ;
 And, as you humour us, can deal
 In all your matters, ill or well.

¹ As good vehicles at least as the cloak-bag, which was said to have conveyed the same from Rome to the council of Trent.

² A great part of what is here said on the political influence of women, was aimed at the court of Charles II. or perhaps at the wife of general Monk.



R. Cooper sculp^r

JOAN OF ARC.

from a Print by Marcenay

'Tis we that can dispose alone, 325
Whether your heirs shall be your own ;
To whose integrity you must,
In spite of all your caution, trust ;
And, less you fly beyond the seas,
Can fit you with what heirs we please ; 330
And force you t' own them, tho' begotten
By French valets, or Irish footmen.
Nor can the rigorousest course
Prevail, unless to make us worse ;
Who still, the harsher we are us'd, 335
Are further off from b'ing reduc'd ;
And scorn t' abate, for any ills,
The least punctilio of our wills,
Force does but whet our wits t' apply
Arts, born with us, for remedy, 340
Which all your politics, as yet,
Have ne'er been able to defeat :
For, when ye 've try'd all sorts of ways,
What fools do we make of you in plays ?
While all the favours we afford, 345
Are but to girt you with the sword,
To fight our battles in our steads,
And have your brains beat out o' your heads ;
Encounter, in despite of nature,
And fight, at once, with fire and water, 350
With pirates, rocks, and storms, and seas,
Our pride and vanity t' appease ;
Kill one another, and cut throats,
For our good graces, and best thoughts ;
To do your exercise for honour, 355
And have your brains beat out the sooner ;
Or crack'd, as learnedly, upon
Things that are never to be known :
And still appear the more industrious,
The more your projects are prepost'rous, 360

To square the circle of the arts,
 And run stark mad to shew your parts ;
 Expound the oracle of laws,
 And turn them which way we see cause ;
 Be our solicitors, and agents, 365
 And stand for us in all engagements.
 And these are all the mighty pow'rs
 You vainly boast to cry down ours ;
 And what in real value's wanting,
 Supply with vapouring and ranting : 370
 Because yourselves are terrify'd,
 And stoop to one another's pride :
 Believe we have as little wit
 To be out-hector'd, and submit :
 By your example, lose that right 375
 In treaties, which we gain'd in fight : ¹
 And terrify'd into an awe,
 Pass on ourselves a salique law ; ²
 Or, as some nations use, give place,
 And truckle to your mighty race : 380

¹ England, in every period of her history, has been thought more successful in war than in negotiation. Congreve, reflecting upon queen Anne's last ministry, in his epistle to lord Cobham, says :

Be far that guilt, be never known that shame,
 That Britain should retract her rightful claim,
 Or stain with pen the triumphs of her sword !

² The salique law debars the succession of females to some inheritances. Thus knights fees, or lands holden of the crown by knights service, are in some parts, as the learned Selden observes, *terræ salicæ* : males only are allowed to inherit such lands, because the females cannot perform the services for which they are granted. See Selden's notes on the eighteenth song of Drayton's *Polyolbion*. The French have extended this law to the inheritance of the crown itself. See Shakspeare, *Henry V.* Act. i. scene ii.

The Lady concludes with great spirit : but it may be that the influence of the sex has not been much over-rated by her. Aristophanes hath two entire plays to demonstrate, ironically, the superiority of the female sex. See v. 538. of the *Lysistrata*.

In Butler's *Common-place Book*, are the following lines under the article *Nature* and *Art* :

The most divine of all the works of nature
 Was not to make the model, but the matter :

Let men usurp th' unjust dominion,
As if they were the better women.

A man may build without design and rules,
But not without materials and tools :
This lady, like a fish's row, had room
For such a shoal of infants in her womb :
The truest glasses naturally misplace
The lineaments and features of her face,
The right and left still counterchange,
And in the rooms of one another range ;
Nature denies brute animals expression,
Because they are incapable of reason.

Precious stones not only do foretell
The dire effects of poison, but repell
When no one person's able t' understand
The vast stupendous uses of the hand ;
The only engine helps the wit of man,
To bring the world in compass of a span :
From raising mighty fabrics on the seas,
To filing chains to fit the necks of fleas,
The left hand is but deputy to the right,
That for a journeyman is wont t' employ 't.



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